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UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN A FEW CRITICISMS, TOGETHER WITH A REPLY TO DR. MARION PHILLIPS¹

Just as our line had entirely cleared the Spaniards, the smoke of battle was for one moment blown aside, by the slackening of the fire, and gave to our view the French grenadier caps, their arms, and the whole aspect of their frowning masses. It was a grand, but a momentary sight: a heavy atmosphere of smoke enveloped us, and few objects could be discerned at all, none distinctly. The best soldier can make no calculation of time, if he be in the heat of an engagement: but this murderous contest of musketry lasted long. At intervals a shriek or a groan told that men were falling around me; but it was not always that the tumult of the contest suffered me to catch individual sounds. The constant "feeling to the centre" and the gradual diminution of our front more truly bespoke the havoc of death.—"Reminiscence of the Battle of Albuera, May 16, 1811," by Moyle Sherer, of the 1/48 regiment of infantry (*Oman's History*).

THERE is nothing in the history of our island about which we want quite so desperately to know clearly as the repulse of Soult's splendid column by the "Die-hard" brigade on "that fatal hill." In the best account which exists the narrator got one momentary glimpse! That is what we feel about social phenomena. On paper, by way of figures, by way of every sort of gen-

¹ [See the issue of this review for December, 1927, for the article to which reference is made: "Labor and Poor-Law Reform in England," by Dr. Marion Phillips, chief woman officer of the Labour party, London.]

eralization, they are as plain as the noonday. That is why the panaceas always appear unanswerable on paper. Once plunge into the actualities of human society and we know as much or as little as Moyle Sherer knew of the battle of Albuera. When we write about a subject we are compelled to generalize, but I wish it to be perfectly plain that to the writer of this article the theories he puts forward resemble Moyle Sherer's glimpses of the French Grenadiers.

At the Buffalo Conference on Family Life Today, held in October, 1927, Miss Gordon Hamilton put the question, "Is it too soon to talk of social work intuitions?" I am venturing to have an intuition that despite all the hard work and money put into it, insurance has not proved a successful device for dealing with unemployment in Great Britain. I do not think anyone could have predicted the reactions of the people to it. They have proved unsatisfactory. On paper, to youthful University dons like Mr. J. L. Cohen, it seems a great success. As a device for improving the health of the nation it is terribly disappointing so far, but may have triumphs in store. Its work for the widow and orphan has only commenced, so far quite badly, in that the people have accepted it as relief. This is the case if we may believe their self-constituted spokesmen. That is, after all, the outstanding feature of British social insurance. No public person dares to say, "Now you have your benefit to look forward to, you will save and devise supplementary schemes so that you may always be an independent citizen and never a pauper." They invariably follow *Oliver Twist* and "ask for more." Thus the National Federation of Employees' Approved Societies at their annual meeting (March 5, 1928) passed a resolution urging that "adequate pension allowance be paid to all widows whose husbands had been insured under the national health insurance acts and to the widows of those men who would have been insured had such acts been in operation at the time of their death." When very high wages were being earned in Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's old constituency in the war, he said to a social worker, "I hope they are saving some of it for the rainy days coming." The social worker replied, "Not a penny." Mr. Macdonald commented,

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"Disgraceful," but on being asked why he did not tell them so, he retorted, "Why should I?"

I. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE¹

Official satisfaction.—Early in 1927 appeared the Blanesburgh report, which was the national stock-taking on the subject. The report was unanimous, though two of the signatories, Mr. Frank Hodges and Miss Margaret Bondfield, were prominent members of the Labour party who had even earned the reputation of extremists in the earlier stages of their careers. It was open to the Blanesburgh

¹ We are assuming in this article that the reader has access to descriptive accounts of British social insurance. There is not room for both a description and a criticism. What we are attempting is the latter. The following is, accordingly, only a "skeleton" outline:

INSURANCE CONTRIBUTIONS AND BENEFITS

Normal Rates	CONTRIBUTIONS				
	National Health Insurance		Old-Age Pensions		
	Employer	Employee	Employer	Employee	Total
Man.....	4½d.	4½d.	4½d.	4½d.	1s. 6d.
Woman.....	4½d.	4d.	2½d.	2d.	1s. 1d.

BENEFITS

Medical.....	1. Treatment and attendance by qualified general medical practitioner.
	2. Provision of drugs and appliances.
	3. The issue free of cost of medical certificates.
Sickness.....	{ After 26 weekly contributions, but under 104: men, 9s. weekly; women, 7s. 6d. weekly.
	{ 104 weekly contributions and over, men, 15s. weekly; women, 12s. weekly.
Disablement.....	Following 26 weeks of sickness benefit, 7s. 6d. a week for men and women up to age of sixty-five.
Maternity.....	{ If husband only insured, £2.
	{ If both husband and wife insured, £4.
	{ If wife only insured, £4.

WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' PENSIONS

Upon death of an insured man, pension of 10s. a week, payable to widow until remarriage or attaining age of qualifying for old-age pension; 5s. per week for eldest

Committee to recommend the abandonment of the scheme or its drastic modification. They did neither. The fact is that no political party in Great Britain is prepared to consider any appreciable curtailment of the public assistance now in operation. Rightly or wrongly, they believe it would mean political annihilation for the party. Even the Emperor Augustus did not dare to abolish the dole (*annona*) in ancient Rome. He only restricted it.

In September of the same year, at the meeting of the International Association for Social Progress, convened at Vienna, a representative British committee, of which Major J. W. Hills, Conservative member for Ripon, was chairman, contributed a paper on "Un-

child up to 14 years of age; 3s. per week for each other child. If child receiving full-time instruction in day school, allowance payable up to age of sixteen.

Orphans.—7s. 6d. a week for each child under fourteen years, ceasing as each child attains that age. If child receiving full-time instruction in day school, pension payable up to sixteen.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Weekly Contributions		Weekly Benefits*	
Boys 16-18 years.....	5d.	Employer, 4½d.....	6s.
Girls 16-18 years.....	4½d.	Employer, 4d.....	5s.
Young men 18-21 years.....	6d.	Employer, 7d.	Boys 18-19 years..... 10s.
			Girls 18-19 years..... 8s.
			Young men 19-20 years... 12s.
			Young women 19-20 years 10s.
			Young men 20-21 years... 14s.
			Young women 20-21 years 12s.
Men 21-65 years.....	10d.	Employer, 9d.	Men 21 years and upwards 17s.
Women 21-65 years.....	8d.	Employer, 7d.	Women 21 years and upwards..... 15s.
Dependents:			
		Adult.....	5s. per week
		Child.....	2s. per week

* The first condition of payment is "that not less than 30 contributions have been paid in respect of him as an insured contributor in respect of the 2 years immediately preceding the date on which application for benefit is made."

OLD AGE (CONTRIBUTORY) PENSIONS

Upon an insured person attaining the age of sixty-five, a pension becomes payable and in the case of a married man, a pension is also payable to his wife when she attains the age of sixty-five. The wife's pension, however, does not become payable until her husband is qualified unless she is herself an insured person and is entitled to receive a pension in respect of her own insurance.

Although pensions under the Contributory Pensions Act cease to be payable at age of seventy, pensions continue to be payable after that age, but under the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908-24, without inquiry as to means, residence, or nationality.

employment Insurance in Great Britain." In it we read, "Experience has demonstrated that unemployment insurance is entirely practicable, that the scheme has been conceived on right lines, that it embodies ideas which are socially desirable, that it is actuarially sound, that it is extremely elastic, and that it has been one of the signal successes of British administrative effort," and again, "In spite of the lack of provision, it has been possible by means of insurance to finance the unemployed during a period of grave need without unduly burdening any one section of the community."

Both committees obviously accept the British unemployment insurance system as a national social asset, as a community enterprise which has in some measure solved the greatest problem of an industrial society, and as a measure of social advance which no sane person would abandon.

Also in 1927 the subject was very fully debated in the British House of Commons, for the government introduced and passed the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1927, implementing with slight modifications the findings of the Blanesburgh Committee.

In 1925 the system was discussed at some length at a conference at the London School of Economics.¹ The important criticisms made were those of Mr. Hayday, Labour M.P. for Nottingham, who described as "hard, harsh, and heartbreaking" the tightening-up regulations recently instituted by the Minister of Labour (Sir Arthur Steel Maitland); and of Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., who suggested that the money spent on maintaining able-bodied people in idleness should be paid as a subsidy to employers to enable them to employ these people upon work which, without this help, could only be undertaken at a loss.²

Popular disapproval.—It is plain that the repeal of the British unemployment insurance scheme is a remote contingency. This is interesting in view of the scathing attacks made upon it by earnest people of all classes and schools of thought. One of the most prominent economists in the country, not a party man but ordinarily reputed a socialist, recited a week ago a pronouncement of his own

¹ *Social Insurance: The Report of a Conference Organized by the League of Nations Union and Held at the London School of Economics, Nov. 23-26, 1925* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1926), pp. 128-70.

² Worked out in detail and known as the "Mond" scheme.

made upon a recent visit to Australia, the land of his birth. "They asked me what they ought to do about unemployment, and I replied: 'Whatever you do about unemployment, for God's sake do not introduce the dole.'"¹ This piece of advice was undoubtedly deliberate, given with a full sense of responsibility, and given by a man near the end of a long life spent on the consideration of the problems of social economics. "The dole has demoralized Scotland"; "It's the dole that is causing all the trouble"; such phrases are universal in conversation and in the press. The speaker will frequently go on to say, "Of course you can't let 'em starve," or "though I have known good men saved by the dole from going into the workhouse," or "I have had to go on the dole myself when I have been out of work, but it is a bad system; it is doing a lot of harm."

It is probably fair to say that the estimate of the system formed by the observant public is one of profound disapproval. It should also be noted that expressions of approval on the part of those most concerned are never heard. It is surely strange that we do not constantly hear people speak of the contrast between the present day with the dole, and pre-war times when people out of work had to fend for themselves. There is only one feasible explanation, and that is that the people do not feel themselves better off in consequence of this measure.

It is quite true that social workers draw this contrast. They are never tired of comparing the two periods. "We could not return to the pre-war experience." But are they not possibly comparing their own anxiety, rather than the feelings, experiences, and anxieties of the people? In a Poor Law Union today with a lavish outdoor relief policy supplementing old-age pensions, war pensions, workmen's compensation, and social insurance benefits (sickness, unemploy-

¹ The use of the expression "dole" by an authoritative economist, himself a socialist, at an important and learned discussion is significant. This newspaper sobriquet has been criticized as inaccurate and unjust, because the recipient of unemployment insurance benefit is getting something which is his legal right and to which he has contributed. The reply is (1) that one-third of his "benefit" is always a gift from the general taxpayer, (2) that roughly one-half the money paid out up to date in benefit has been "extended" or "uncovenanted" benefit, a pure dole from the taxpayer, and (3) that outdoor relief to the able-bodied under the Poor Law has been very widely given in supplementation of, extension of, and in lieu of, unemployment insurance benefit, and that when the word "dole" is used, this third kind of assistance is also meant.

ment, widows', and orphans') no one need go short of any material need, and the less far-seeing social worker can sleep in peace. But she is telling you about her thoughts and feelings. They are not shared by the wage-earning people, who, in the main, do not think well of the dole, if one may rely upon their almost universal conversation.

Popular dissatisfaction analyzed.—The question before us in this article is of the value of British unemployment insurance as a device in applied social economics. Some of our readers will listen with impatience to evidence drawn from mere *obiter dicta* in popular conversation. They will retort that the feeling that pre-war and pre-dole times were as good or better times arises from the post-war depression in industry, coupled with post-war increased cost of living; the people are comparing their livelihood on full-time wages with their subsistence on the dole paid in a depreciated currency. Let us examine this criticism. The index figure for the cost of living in February, 1928, stands at 68 per cent above that for 1914. A mean between that and the number for December, 1926, would be 75 per cent. Wages average 70-75 per cent above the 1914 level, for a working week of forty-seven instead of fifty-three hours. A man, wife, and four children get from the dole 31s. (\$7.25) per week. In many towns the poor-law guardians will give him anything from 19s. (\$4.50) to 29s. (\$7) or even more in addition. His pre-war wages were probably from 18 to 28s. per week (\$4.35 to \$6.75). Add 75 per cent for increased cost of living, and even the higher figure becomes only 49s. (\$11.75), the lower only 31s. 6d. (\$7.50). Thus men earning low wages, pre-war, now get more from the dole alone than their pre-war wage plus the increased cost of living; and men on the higher pre-war wage get from dole and outdoor relief combined an income fully equal to their pre-war wage plus increased cost of living. The pre-war wages we are citing are not those of mechanics, but of laborers, carters, porters, and the lower grades of clerks. In addition, the wage-earner's general financial position is supposedly enormously improved by old-age pensions, health insurance, and widows' and orphans' pensions, and war pensions, since presumably some of his family circle are benefiting from public funds under one or more of these headings. We print as an appendix the

latest return of public expenditure on social services, and in addition to them the people are enjoying other enormously improved public services, such as streets and roads, lighting, water supply, etc.

Even this very rough calculation suggests the need of going rather deeper for an explanation of the fact that the people do not seem to think themselves better off. Sir Josiah Stamp and Professor Bowley, our principal statisticians, estimate that changes since 1914 have affected an appreciable transfer of wealth from other groups to the wage-earning group in this country. That might naturally be expected to produce a sense of enhanced well-being, since, psychologically, well-being is so very much more a matter of comparison with our neighbors than with any absolute standard.

Discontent not easy to explain.—There remains the objector's reference to trade depression. We are informed on the best official authority that employment in the London area has of late been better than in the period preceding the war. Over one-fifth of the population of England and Wales live in London. Some centers—Sheffield, Newcastle, and Glasgow—have been greatly depressed; others, such as Luton and Coventry, have enjoyed great prosperity. Unemployment in the southeastern district of England is a little over 4 per cent, compared to 6 and 7 per cent in "good" years before the war. Taking the country as a whole, in the last three years over half a million additional people have found a permanent footing in industry, while 30,000 coal miners, representing the most depressed industry, found work in other fields of enterprise in twelve months (latest available return). The Labour party, at least in all their official and public utterances, adopt the simple line that the fault of all these measures is that they do not transfer nearly enough of the incomes of the better-off to the pockets of the worse-off. We quite see that they are committed to this view and might be misunderstood by their followers if they took any other. Their vehement expressions go some way in reinforcing our contention that, whatever else the dole has done, it has not diminished discontent; or, in other words, that it has failed to produce among the people a sense of being better off than they were before the system was introduced. Yet real wages in London are nearly 20 per cent higher than in

Stockholm and Amsterdam (neutral countries in the war), nearly 40 per cent higher than in Berlin, and 50 per cent higher than in Rome or Brussels.

Whether rightly or not, the authorities engaged in the administration of the peace are far more apprehensive of the possible consequences of discontent than before the war. It is, therefore, probable that there is more discontent. Yet this growth of discontent has accompanied a very substantial transfer of assets by the device of taxation from one group of the community to another. The official return of expenditure upon public social services (see appendix), including education, but omitting most of the expenditure on housing, stood at less than £63,000,000 in 1911, but rose to £351,500,000 in 1926 (and estimated to rise another £16,000,000 in 1927). Roughly, £12,000,000 of this came from contributions of wage-earners under the system of social insurance.

House rent and clothes.—There are two other matters which cannot be omitted from an attempt to estimate the social effects of that transfer of assets by legislative action in which social insurance, and especially unemployment insurance, plays a part. This is not the place for an adequate discussion of the rise of house rent since 1911. It is considerable, and due mainly to three causes: (1) a tendency in the population to occupy more house space, (2) a rise in the cost of building and repairs in addition to the general rise of prices, (3) increased local government expenditure (the social services mentioned before are partly paid for by local taxation, which in this country is a charge additional to house rent). The inelastic part of the wage-earner's budget is his rent. However little he likes it, he can modify any other item but not that. Consequently a rise in rent obtrudes upon him remorselessly the fact that he is less well off than he was. *Per contra*, of course, the numerous people who put their savings into building societies and bought houses are reaping their reward and are now budding capitalists.

A question hotly argued in this country is whether the people, and especially the children, are better dressed than heretofore. A good test is to be found in the boots of children attending school. Before the endowment of the wage-earning group through legislation including social insurance, children were frequently kept away

from school on the plea that the parents could not afford boots. Others were sent in leaky boots. Even allowing for the increase in the cost of living, including the refractory item of rent, we have shown that the improved financial (not necessarily socio-economic) position of the wage-earner ought to have disposed easily of this small item. It has not done so. What H. G. Wells called "this misery of boots" is with us still, despite socialist measures greater far than Wells was calling for when he wrote that pamphlet. We submit that school children's boots are a matter of social habit; that there is some reason to think that social insurance militates against good social habit; and that this is reflected in the persistence of the school children's boot problem.

How the people chose to meet unemployment.—What then is the achievement of British unemployment insurance, and where, if at all, has this experiment gone awry? The present writer was interested in these matters for many years before the introduction of social insurance in 1911, and had long been actively engaged in social work in London. Like most social workers, he was a keen advocate of the insurance idea and placed unbounded hopes in the good it was going to do. Could they have pictured the hardly perceptible change in the social life of the people brought about by a public expenditure¹ immeasurably in excess of anything then thought possible, they would indeed have been amazed! but would their amazement, one wonders, have gone the length of leading them to overhaul their diagnosis of the social effects of unemployment?

The outstanding feature of the situation was the small number of trade unions which paid out-of-work benefit and the small amount of benefit which even these paid.² This meant that provision against unemployment by the method of social insurance was well known to the wage-earners of this country, but attracted only very few of them.

Outdoor relief under the poor laws was then, as it is now, illegal, but up to 1911 the law was obeyed. In that year, the year of the introduction of social insurance which was to abolish pauperism

¹ The latest available return of the gross expenditure in twelve months under the Unemployment Insurance Acts was round about £50,000,000.

² This is made apparent by the amount of unemployment benefit paid in one

from the land, a government order was issued permitting outdoor relief to the able-bodied in exceptional circumstances. The number in England and Wales in receipt of this exceptional relief in August, 1927, was 225,000 (in addition to their 252,000 dependents).

In the period before 1911 industry was subject to constant and great fluctuation, while much employment was chronically irregular. Wage-earning families were accustomed from their tenderest years to the necessity of being prepared to meet this problem. They met it. Here and there small groups gathered about town halls, attracted by talk of municipal relief works. Others came in for some assistance in cash or kind from mayor's funds, from churches, and the like. The enormous, overwhelming majority made their own arrangements. The Unemployed Workmen Act (1905) served to prove this. Passed specifically for the "superior workingman out of work through no fault of his own," it notoriously failed to attract him. It merely made another little pool of dependents like the town hall.

The favorite and best method was the pawn shop. By this device the people got use or pleasure from their possessions in good times, and sustenance in bad. It was a form of investment and speculation.

hundred principal trade unions in the United Kingdom, 1900-1909, compared to the scale of the transactions under the present-day compulsory scheme.

Year	Membership of 100 Principal Trade Unions at End of Year	Expenditure on Unemployment Benefit	The Amount Paid in Unemployment Benefit Was of the Total Expenditure of the 100 Unions
1900.....	1,206,130	261,114	18.1 per cent
1901.....	1,215,198	325,249	19.8 per cent
1902.....	1,212,296	430,140	23.9 per cent
1903.....	1,200,965	512,757	26.8 per cent
1904.....	1,195,734	654,245	32.0 per cent
1905.....	1,213,057	523,622	25.4 per cent
1906.....	1,207,967	424,370	21.6 per cent
1907.....	1,459,967	463,733	22.5 per cent
1908.....	1,434,930	1,005,721	31.4 per cent
1909.....	1,422,299	943,659	35.1 per cent
Total.....	.....	5,544,610	26.6 per cent

At the time of writing, the figures for the four weeks ended January 28, 1928, were: receipts, £3,425,000; payments, £3,755,000; national treasury advances outstanding, £23,530,000. The number of unemployment "books lodged" on January 23, 1928, in the United Kingdom was 1,227,435.

From the lessons learned many climbed up to be traders and owners. Dogs, rabbits, chickens, were forms of investment which were realizable and in the meantime productive. The most favorite form of ownership was house property, to the acquisition of which "building societies" helped enormously. The next chief resource was family earnings, whether of mother or children. A woman who could cook, do house work, and a little nursing was never at a loss if she required to earn something. The last and much least popular method was the dull one of saving cash in a savings bank or "slate club." All three methods developed calculation, foresight, and resource. The fact of providing brought self-respect and a sense of independence. It was common parlance that if you had "a few pounds by you" you could take your own line about anything. We quoted people just now as saying that the dole had saved many a good man from going into the workhouse. The lack of it most certainly did not send any good man to the workhouse in pre-war days. The very few able-bodied men found in workhouses were mental deficient and inebriates.

In the higher walks of wage-earning life, homes and clothes were elaborate. Pawning was beneath their dignity. They looked to the trade union to obviate the inconvenience of pawning by providing out-of-work benefit, but this was only a small item additional to very considerable assets.

Apparent ill consequences and fatal flaws of unemployment insurance.—Wise after the event (but not before it), we social workers are asking whether it was sound to cut across these firmly established habits and conventions with an arithmetical scheme which might be interpreted in a very different sense to that intended. In so far as the man of superior habit has preserved his habit, merely adding to his own resources what the state and his employer give, no harm has been done except the restriction of industry involved in raising the funds. In so far as the scheme has awakened people, previously indifferent, to the possibilities of mutual thrift, it must be good. On the other hand, where it has substituted dependence on a public fund for family solidarity and personal provision it is a disaster. Bringing a little cash, it has robbed the recipient of the sense of security his own arrangements once gave him. In the aggregate it has tended to create what the Roman legislators in similar circum-

stances called a proletariat, with the typical restless unhappy mentality. The simplest man could understand that a watch, a bicycle, an armchair, or a Sunday suit was always "good for" the rent in case of need. What he cannot understand is a government which can and will give him 30s. a week when he is out of work and won't give him £4 a week which he can earn at work and which he reckons he is worth.

The scheme has other and graver defects. The fact that he is entitled to the dole reinforces every motive he may have for leaving any particular piece of work. It begins the detachment of the man from the complex industrial world which outdoor relief completes. It strengthens his natural unwillingness to make a change of occupation or place. Having rendered him all these disservices, it then, under the compulsion of actuarial necessity, drops him. This defect in the scheme has been felt so strongly in this country that "extended benefit"—outdoor relief from national taxation instead of from the proceeds of the local poor rate—accounts for half the total expenditure under the so-called Unemployment Insurance Acts up to date! To "extended benefit" is added supplementation of the amount and of the period from poor-law sources; and yet all this takes place in a population which down to 1908 met the contingencies of old age, sickness, and unemployment from its own resources, and was not perceptibly worse off in consequence.

The wage-earner rebudgets.—The only tangible and unmistakable results of these transfers of income are to be found in the huge increase of expenditure upon betting, cinemas, and alcohol. It is perfectly true that what one man spends in these ways another will invest to his great advantage. What we doubt is whether social insurance has raised the economic status of the mass of the people. The superior man had his trade union, his friendly society, his building society, his savings bank. He has them now. The less thrifty type bore with scarcity when it came, and spent fully while he had the means to do so. He does the same now, but he has more to spend. He has revised his budget. His daily rate of expenditure is higher, but he has not steadied the market by joining a thrift scheme of the state, as we all fondly hoped he would do. The dole is very useful while it lasts, but does it last any longer than the man could last

out himself in the old days, more especially when his employer, who has paid heavily to provide that dole, is not slow to take advantage of it? In serious cases it can never do better than postpone the day of reckoning, when he has to face industrial life on a new basis.—We cannot help wondering whether all the thought and wisdom put into the administration of the system would not be more profitably applied to making the social and industrial readjustments of the individuals whom the eccentric movements of the wheels of industry throw out.

Hopeless quandary of the employer.—Another grave defect is the necessity, for the working of the scheme, that the employer should state the reason why the man left his employment. No solution of the difficulty arising has been proposed. A single instance will make clear what it is. An employer dismissed a man and informed the employment exchange that the reason for the man's discharge was that he did not work satisfactorily. The man was in consequence refused benefit and brought an action against the employer for libel. The secretary of his trade union called upon the firm. He admitted the worthless character of the man and the firm's wisdom in dismissing him, but explained that he was bound to get him all the help he could in his libel action. He then proposed that the firm should re-engage the man and then discharge him on the ground of insufficiency of orders, in which case he would be able to draw unemployment benefit. If the firm agreed, he promised to withdraw the action for libel. The firm agreed for the sake of industrial peace. In such conditions it is equally difficult to see how the scheme can work fairly or smoothly, and to devise any remedy. This flaw is not susceptible of remedy.

The insurance mind and the social worker.—The legislators who introduced social insurance were not inventors. They were no harbingers of an ingenious device to "wipe away all tears," as Mr. Lloyd George claimed in 1911. They implemented by statute what a large section of this population had practiced for varying fractions of two centuries. The people who were not insured in companies or societies against the contingencies of life were the people whom that method of disposing of parts of their assets had failed to attract. What Mr. Lloyd George really undertook to do, though he was

totally unaware of it, was to change their minds. There is no evidence that he has done so. The type of person who takes each day as it comes quite naturally regards a day on which he is entitled to benefit and does not draw it as a day mismanaged, whether that "benefit" is called by a remote though benevolent legislator "sickness" benefit or "unemployment" benefit. Nor does he distinguish "benefit" from relief. It is cash which can be obtained from the public purse, and which only a fool would abstain from drawing. The following has been supplied to us by a manufacturer under date of April 25, 1928:

MEMORANDUM RE UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT
AND SHORT TIME WORKING

Men working regularly four days a week are not able to draw Unemployment Benefit for the remaining two days.

Men working three days a week can draw Unemployment Benefit for the remaining three days when they have once completed the qualifying waiting period. Such of these men who are on a low wage scale and who have large families, are better off when working three days than when working four.

It is also possible, if the working days are arranged in a suitable way, for men to work eleven days in three weeks and draw Unemployment Benefit for six days and only lose one day's benefit. The following is a specimen three weeks:

	1st Week	2nd Week	3rd Week	4th Week
Monday	Play (U.B.)	Work	Play (U.B.)	Play
Tuesday	Play (U.B.)	Work	Work	Play
Wednesday	Work	Play (U.B.)	Work	etc.
Thursday	Work	Work	Work	
Friday	Work	Work	Work	
Saturday	Play (U.B.) lost	Play (U.B.)	Play (U.B.)	

The above combination of work and play is found necessary by some employers owing to the fact that if and when they attempt to work a fuller week, their men leave them for employment where they obtain the same or a greater weekly income while working less time. Thus not only is the employer handicapped by being hindered from working according to the demands of trade, but the men are encouraged to prefer playing to working.

This article, as we said at the beginning, is not a description of social insurance, but a criticism. Like Mr. Lloyd George, the writer hoped most ardently, and believed firmly, that the mass of the people would develop the insurance mind, would provide before-

hand against "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," and that the bugbear of relief with all its attendant abominations, would disappear. Social insurance has come, and with the passing of the Widows', Orphans', and Old-Age Pensions Contributory Act of 1925, is a complete scheme; but the insurance mind has not spread perceptibly, and the abominations of relief flourish like the green bay tree. It is only fair to observe that the social worker is in the vast majority of cases the irreconcilable foe of the insurance mind and the insurance principle. Her obsession is to obtain help for her client from some third party. A situation of distress has arisen for her client. If under some statute money termed "benefit" can be obtained, that is good; if under some other statute it can be drawn as relief, that also is good; failing these, it must be wrung out of some benevolent person; if, as the client intended all along, it is found by pledging ornaments and Sunday clothes, that is deplorable and a great wail of grief and indignation ascends to the powers that be. Nor will the social worker ever be found strengthening the fiber of the insurance mind! Her first idea is to exclaim at the inadequacy of the "benefit" and to bestir herself to obtain a supplementation of it, whether from public or voluntary sources. The tendency of her thought and speech and action is in the same direction as that of the old-age pension tribunal in New Zealand. The applicant was informed that his savings precluded his benefiting under the act. He replied, "It shall not occur again."

II. EFFECTS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE UPON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN

Verdict of Mrs. Sidney Webb.—We said at the outset that the fog of war is nothing to the uncertainty which surrounds any attempt to predicate anything about the thoughts of the people. The present British program of public assistance mostly by way of insurance has only been in operation at all for twenty years, and many parts of it much less. It is almost premature to say anything about it. Not so with relief under the poor laws. That has been going on for more than three hundred years and has a very traceable descent from ancient Rome. The more we study the numerous vicissitudes in its history the more we feel we discern certain constants in the reaction of the

people to it. The Sydney Ball lecture for 1927 was delivered at Oxford on November 21 by Mrs. Sidney Webb, her title being "The English Poor Law. Will It Endure?" The lecture is all in her splendid slashing style and is delightful reading. Toward the end of the lecture she says (p. 25):

The Poor Law itself—that is, the relief of destitution—has, by 1927, got into a condition closely analogous, only on a vaster scale, to that of the old poor law in 1832. In nearly all large industrial districts we have now an indiscriminate and unconditional relief of the able-bodied, whether they are only in partial employment or wholly out of employment; even the wives and children of men actually on strike being, by express directions of the industry, given substantial weekly doles.¹ This method of dealing with unemployment has been complicated by the fact that the scales of relief which have been laid down even by the Ministry itself are plainly in excess of the Unemployment Benefit on the one hand, and the lowest current rate of wages on the other. Thus, we are at present subsidizing, out of the Poor Rate, even with the sanction of the Ministry itself, not only the demoralizing system of casual labour, but also the sweating employers and inefficient labourers, and whole industries that cannot stand on their own feet, whilst maintaining not a few persons who do not even honestly seek for work. The total cost of Poor Relief in all its forms now reaches the gigantic sum of fifty million pounds annually, as compared with fourteen millions in 1906 and seven millions in 1834.

Now, I think the present state of things is intolerable; and if it is permitted to continue will bring about national disaster. For, as I have already pointed out, pauperism—that is, relief out of public funds—may itself become a disease of society. . . .

Considerations of space alone prevent us quoting Mrs. Webb at much greater length. The point we wish to bring out is that careful students of English poor-law history like Mrs. Webb recognize 1832 coming back again, i.e., they detect a similar reaction on the part of the people. That reaction bears no resemblance to Milton's famous apostrophe, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks"! Alas! None!

Converting Mrs. Webb's admirable statement of the position into figures, we find that in 1908, the year in which old-age pensions

¹ The circular in question went on to point out that the strikers themselves would shortly become destitute, and in fact the coal miners on strike were maintained on outdoor relief over the great part of the mining area during the six months of the 1926 strike.

were introduced, the mean number of persons in receipt of poor-law relief in England and Wales was 22.1 per thousand of the estimated population; in 1911, the year in which national health insurance was introduced, 24.8; in 1925, the year before the last great coal strike, 31.7; in January, 1926, 37.0; in January, 1927, 39.6. This increase has accompanied the process of building up our present great budget

TABLE I*

NAME OF DISTRICT	NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED PERSONS IN RECEIPT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF PER 10,000 ESTIMATED POPULATION	NUMBER OF PERSONS INSURED UNDER THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACTS RECORDED AS UNEMPLOYED PER 10,000 ESTIMATED POPULATION	ACTUAL NUMBER OF MEN HAVING NO WIFE OR CHILD DEPENDENT†	NUMBERS IN RECEIPT OF RELIEF CONTINUOUSLY FOR 4 YEARS OR MORE	NUMBERS IN AGE GROUPS	
					16-20 Years	21-30 Years
Newcastle district.....	108	516	989	1,038	43	1,115
North Staffordshire.....	14	489	†	†	†	†
Sheffield.....	112	467	1,630	1,187	92	1,400
Stockton-on-Tees district..	117	443	321	85	42	259
Wigan district.....	24	438	65	4	1	41
Liverpool district.....	104	419	3,541	1,158	987	2,993
Bolton, Oldham, etc.....	6	405	49	4	0	101
Wolverhampton district...	24	367	58	10	0	25
Hull district.....	42	350	133	17	34	147
Halifax and Huddersfield..	4	326	19	1	1	30
Manchester district.....	55	316	982	338	41	1,234

* Ministry of Health Cmd. 3006 (December, 1927). We arrange the places in the order of the numbers of insured persons recorded as unemployed on June 20, 1927, per 10,000 estimated population.

† The last four columns, taken from another part of the same return, afford some idea of the policy of the unions. Not being proportionate to population, they are not strictly comparable to the other figures. In some instances they apply to somewhat smaller areas.

‡ Figures not available.

of expenditure on public social services, of which we append a tabular statement.¹

The official curve for unemployment reached nearly 10 per cent in 1908, varied round 3 per cent in 1911, ranged between 9 and 12 in 1925, varied between 9 and 10 in 1927. But as we have already shown, the present high level of unemployment is accompanied by a high level of real wages, and this, Professor Pigou² assures us is the actual cause of the high level of unemployment. While, therefore, unemployment is high, there is the widespread well-being of high real wages, which *ceteris paribus* would keep people from the poor law.

¹ See Appendix, facing p. 216.

² *Economic Journal*, September, 1927.

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Contrast in the poor-law policy in different areas.—In England and Wales as a whole the position is, we believe, obscured by the severe depression in the coal fields of South Wales and Northumberland, and the depressions in the heavy engineering, shipbuilding, cotton,

TABLE II

	West District	North District	Central	East	South	Total	Poplar (One of the Lon- don Bor- oughs in East District)	Fulham (in West District)
Unemployed on relief per 10,000 population*....	6	20	17	161	49	49	‡	‡
Insured recorded as un- employed per 10,000*....			147	264	156	168	‡	‡
Men on relief having no wife or child depend- ent*.....	105	186	34	2,538	1,760	4,623	1,238	5
Numbers on relief four years or more*.....	18	160	0	1,502	930	2,610	867	0
Aged 16-21*.....	0	3	0	593	291	887	446	0
Aged 21-30*.....	63	391	40	2,660	2,140	5,294	1,127	12
Number of persons in re- ceipt of domiciliary re- lief on December 31, 1927†.....	7,345	17,357	2,496	62,022	76,103	165,323	25,497	1,853
Number of persons in re- ceipt of institutional re- lief on December 31, 1927†.....	9,409	10,734	2,399	10,082	19,321	51,945	3,094	1,475
Total number of persons in receipt of relief on December 31, 1927†...	16,754	28,091	4,895	72,104	95,424	217,268	28,591	3,328
Total number on relief on December 31, 1927, per 10,000 population†....	201	272	365	1,106	485	471	1,692	203

* Figures in these columns are for June, 1927.

† Latest available figures.

‡ Figures not available.

and woolen trades. Even so, however, we are able to illustrate the truth of Mrs. Webb's contention by Table I.

The figures hardly call for comment. The contrast between Liverpool and its near neighbors, Bolton and Wigan, between Sheffield and its near neighbor, Halifax, brings out the plain fact that we are faced, not by economic depression and its unavoidable consequences, but by varying local policies of public assistance and the local popular reaction to them.

Contrast in poor-law policy in different parts of London.—We pass now to consider the material afforded by this return for London. That area, as we mentioned before, is enjoying comparative prosperity. Despite an enormous increase of population due to migration from less prosperous parts of the country,¹ the unemployment figure stands under 5 per cent, compared to nearly 7 per cent in the year preceding the war (see Table II).

The population of Poplar is 168,000; that of the whole area involved, 4,500,000; yet Poplar has one-fourth of the single men, one third of those on relief continuously for four years or more, one-half the lads under 21, and more than one-fifth of the men under 31.

Fulham is also a riverside London borough with a population of 166,000, about equidistant from central London with Poplar, having about the same rateable value, but very much less equipped with industries. According to the census of 1921, 31,000 persons go into Poplar from other areas daily to earn a living, a figure now probably increased. An analysis of occupations (census) shows the Poplar inhabitants to be rather more lucratively employed than the Fulham ones. In September, 1927, 22,906 persons were in receipt of outdoor relief in Poplar, 1,381 in Fulham.

It would be helpful to have the unemployment figures for the separate London unions for each year since the war. These are not available. It is certain, however, that there has been a gradual improvement. The post-war dislocation and depression hit London hard in 1920, and strikes big and little have afflicted the area since. Assuming this improvement, we now give the progress of poor-law relief.

In the county of London, with a population of 4,500,000, the expenditure on out-relief was as follows:

For the Year Ending March 31	Pounds
1914.....	206,956
1921.....	639,903
1922.....	2,086,678
1923.....	2,985,332
1925.....	2,412,576
1926.....	3,120,378

The actual rise in expenditure during the last year exceeds the total amount spent in 1921.

¹ The figures for this movement exist at the Ministry of Labour but have not been made public.

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During the last financial year (ending March, 1926), no less than twelve unions spent over £100,000 each on out-relief; no less than five unions spent over £200,000 each on out-relief; no less than three unions spent over £300,000 each on out-relief; and one union spent over £600,000.

Out of the total increase of £707,807 spent during the year on out-relief, Table III shows the distribution.

TABLE III

	Expenditure (Pounds)	Increase Registered (Pounds)
Stepney	341,784	160,044
Bermondsey	340,596	89,063
Camberwell	231,552	75,199
Poplar	609,641	74,414
Bethnal Green	137,720	74,329
Southwark	176,587	63,781
Greenwich	288,399	58,032

These seven unions are spending £2,126,279, out of a total annual expenditure by the twenty-five unions of London on out-relief alone, of £3,120,378.

It would take too long to comment adequately on these figures. Londoners move about to work more than the people of any town in the world except New York. The astonishing contrasts in pauperism are due, we believe, to local policy, not to local industrial conditions. Thus two adjoining boroughs, e.g., Hackney and Poplar, share one group of factories as their source of livelihood. Poplar has (September, 1927) a pauperism of 1,531 per 10,000 of the population. Hackney has 266. Here is a footnote on the pauperism of Bermondsey, another riverside union where the policy known as "Poplarism" prevails. In the year 1925, 15,905 persons were receiving poor relief at a cost for the year of £254,099. During the same year the following expenditures were ascertained:

	Pounds
House rent (including local taxation)	742,000
Bread	230,000
Milk	182,000
Total	1,154,000
Alcoholic liquors	1,335,000

Rise in poor-law relief.—In a tabular appendix¹ of expenditure on public social services the figures for outdoor relief are not shown separately, and we therefore give them here for the period since the state undertook public assistance on a large scale outside the poor law, commencing with the Old-Age Pensions Act 1908:

	Pounds
1909.....	3,344,969
1921.....	5,793,383
1922.....	15,443,084
1923.....	17,473,155
1924.....	15,364,919
1925.....	12,978,268
1926.....	15,326,742

These expenditure figures should be compared with the figures for the total number of persons in receipt of poor-law relief at the end of September in the year 1927 and certain earlier years for England and Wales and for London (see Table IV).

Lessons of these figures.—In attempting to wring inferences out of statistical matter we usually find ourselves dependent upon narrow arithmetical margins to establish our points. It is not so in this case. It is perfectly obvious that this country is maintaining or assisting people out of public funds to an extent undreamed of in 1907; and it is equally obvious that, as the threefold scheme of social insurance has reached completion, it has been accompanied by an enormous increase in the recourse of the population to poor-law relief wherever the local politicians have encouraged them to it. While our figures, in detail, reveal the activities of the local politician, the general figures borne out by Mrs. Webb's recent researches show that it is by no means only in unions where the Labor party is in a majority that lavish out-relief is given. It is a rapidly growing movement. A very interesting feature of the position is that the total expenditure on public assistance in any given area is unknown. When the Poplar guardians decide to spend over £600,000 on poor-law relief in one year in a population of 168,000 in an area so full of thriving industries that 31,000 people find it worth while to come there daily to earn wages, they have no figures before them of the amount being distributed in their area on old-age pensions,

¹ Facing p. 216.

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health insurance, unemployment insurance, war pensions, widows' and orphans' pensions, or school children's dinners and medical

TABLE IV

YEAR	NUMBER OF PERSONS IN RECEIPT OF RELIEF			PROPORTION PER CENT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS ENTERED IN COL. 4 WHO WERE IN RECEIPT OF:	
	Institutional Relief	Domiciliary Relief	Total	Institutional Relief	Domiciliary Relief
England and Wales (Including London)					
1897.....	195,788	508,969	704,757	27.8	72.2
1907.....	242,622	511,129	753,751	32.2	67.8
1913.....	246,393	365,055	611,448	40.3	59.7
1914.....	253,278	387,750	641,028	39.5	60.5
1915.....	219,969	346,756	566,725	38.8	61.2
1916.....	208,492	308,384	516,876	40.3	59.7
1917.....	195,058	288,378	483,436	40.3	59.7
1918.....	181,487	265,078	446,565	40.6	59.4
1919.....	178,792	284,217	463,009	38.6	61.4
1920.....	188,403	311,532	499,935	37.7	62.3
1921.....	208,042	1,048,864	1,256,906	16.6	83.4
1922.....	210,481	1,244,096	1,454,577	14.5	85.5
1923.....	211,797	1,069,704	1,281,501	16.5	83.5
1924.....	209,202	836,731	1,045,933	20.0	80.0
1925.....	213,686	1,006,813	1,220,499	17.5	82.5
1926.....	217,829	2,178,445	2,396,274	9.1	90.9
1927.....	215,417	932,778	1,148,195	18.8	81.2
London					
1897.....	63,509	35,959	99,468	63.8	36.2
1907.....	74,264	41,876	116,140	63.9	36.1
1913.....	69,874	29,069	98,943	70.6	29.4
1914.....	70,446	33,823	104,269	67.6	32.4
1915.....	59,207	26,193	85,400	69.3	30.7
1916.....	55,343	23,108	78,451	70.5	29.5
1917.....	50,942	20,618	71,560	71.2	28.8
1918.....	46,502	18,007	64,509	72.1	27.9
1919.....	44,509	19,785	64,294	69.2	30.8
1920.....	46,727	27,112	73,839	63.3	36.7
1921.....	50,578	158,345	208,923	24.2	75.8
1922.....	50,172	174,390	224,562	22.3	77.7
1923.....	50,870	167,523	218,393	23.3	76.7
1924.....	49,725	132,212	181,937	27.3	72.7
1925.....	50,648	154,330	204,978	24.7	75.3
1926.....	50,716	166,899	217,615	23.3	76.7
1927.....	49,729	144,059	193,788	25.7	74.3

treatment. The only figures they have beside their own are those for milk, teeth, and convalescence for mothers and children under

five years of age, and those spent by the borough council upon relief works for the unemployed.

What has really happened in Poplar.—The present writer has been very familiar with Poplar for over a quarter of a century. He was intrusted with an investigation into unemployment relief there by the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in 1906. If it be allowable, as Miss Gordon Hamilton says, "to have an intuition" about the tendency of the policy of public assistance as exhibited in Poplar in the last forty years, it is this:

In the last part of the last century, in Poplar as elsewhere, public assistance was on a very restricted scale. "Poplarism" began thirty years ago, when a group of local people led by Mr. Will Crooks and Mr. George Lansbury determined to assist men and women temporarily without incomes, owing presumably to a fluctuation in local industrial activity, out of public funds and to assist them on a scale which would, in the words of Dr. Marion Phillips, "maintain the self-respect as well as the health of the families relieved." Obviously such a policy could only succeed on two conditions: (1) that industry fluctuated up as well as down; (2) that the people maintained during the downward fluctuation hastened back to work on the upward fluctuation. The latter condition included a psychological speculation. Mr. Crooks has now been dead some years, but Mr. Lansbury is still the most powerful man in Poplar; his policy has become permanent there and has been consistently pursued throughout the thirty-year period. Of it, Dr. Marion Phillips says "little was done with the able-bodied destitute suffering from unemployment, Poplar alone tackling this problem with any sort of success." A judgment upon Poplar policy gains enormous importance from the fact that that policy has been, as we have just said, consistently pursued for thirty years, and when that judgment is passed by the chief woman officer of the Labour party it is of still greater significance. The fluctuations which Mr. Lansbury anticipated have taken place. Industries have even left the borough, while new ones have come. Its prosperity in the war was enormous, the area being splendidly situated for getting a very handsome share of war work. Even in 1921, at the climax of the tremendous post-war depression, 31,000 persons, as we have already said more than once, thought it

worth while to come daily to Poplar to work. Today the people of Poplar, outside Mr. Lansbury's following, share in London's prosperity and can be seen crowding onto the torrent of early morning vehicles which carry them to their avocations all over the metropolis and beyond it. The "unemployed," who with their dependents have never in recent years fallen below 24,000, sleep quietly on through the morning till the relief stations open at ten o'clock, while this great tide of humanity goes or comes to work past their peaceful domiciles.

They have, as it seems to us, become more and more detached from industry and commerce, and their children with them. Losing contact with these activities, they have lost their grip on life in general. This myth that by some curious fate they must perennially subsist upon public assistance seems to wrap them in a kind of stupor. The officers of the education authority, whose duty it is to promote continued education or beneficial recreation, in Poplar are filled with despair. The lads who come before the employment exchange have the utmost reluctance even to hear of work. A girl who had in two days refused three positions led a march of unemployed girls to visit the Archbishop of Canterbury. She said: "The Archbishop was very kind to us poor girls *who can't get any work to do*: he gave us all tea in his gardens." The curious cleavage created in the borough by this thirty-year-old policy was well exemplified by two replies given lately in one week to the same suggestion. A man applied to a voluntary source for something for his child and was told that, as he was unemployed, he could easily get it from the guardians. He retorted, "Do you think I am going to queue up with that scum?" In the same week a woman got the same answer to a similar application. She said, "I could never ask the guardians for anything." "That seems strange," said the social worker, "seeing they have maintained you and your husband and six children for eighteen months." "Oh, our keep!" said the woman. "I don't count that."

Workers detached from their industries by relief.—My intuition is that the Lansbury group have rendered us all an immense service. They have shown that a generous out-relief policy started and maintained with good intentions does *not* "maintain the health and self-

respect" of men and women during the fluctuations of industry, but detaches them from industry and from active and healthy life, makes them a class apart and depressed, and deprives them of their natural share in the progress of the community to which they once belonged. It is only fair to these most unhappy men and women and children, far more sinned against than sinning, to point out that although they were the subjects of Mr. Lansbury's genuine benevolence they were also pawns in two other games: (1) the use of public assistance to maintain the level of wages, and (2) the rise of Labour politicians to political power. Mr. Lansbury himself described the latter process with perfect candor in a letter to the *Times* (January 21, 1926), saying "Everybody knows that all elections are fought out on questions of personal interest. Protectionists offer work for all with high wages. . . . We Socialists follow suit and, with unblushing impudence, offer leisure, pleasure, and plenty for all if our scheme of national and international co-operation is set up."

Unemployment due to artificial level of wages.—It seems probable, as Professor Pigou argues in a passage already quoted, that the level of wages in this country has been kept at a rate higher than economic forces would produce by means of public assistance. That may be a very fine thing for wages, but what are we to think about the men and women kept away from industry for eight years and longer? On this subject no one is more eloquent than Mr. Lansbury himself. Speaking at a conference of London guardians early in February, 1928, he said, "It is a problem for the whole nation: that of finding work and training the younger men, to keep them off the dole and from loafing about the streets, thus losing the idea of industry and their self-respect. . . . We should maintain the morale as well as the physique of the younger men of the nation" (applause). The curious thing is that the nation has been busily doing the very thing he asks, expanding its industries, and not only absorbing—in the London and southeastern district at least—its own workers more successfully than before the war, but many thousands from other parts of the country. Despite the very remarkable development of new industries in and round London, Mr. Lansbury said in the same speech, "Poplar has many magnificently skilled men who have never been able to do a day's work since the munition works closed down at the end of the war."

Unemployment due to faulty redistribution of labor.—In the *Economic Journal* for March, 1928, Professor Henry Clay indorses our view and Mr. Lansbury's of the disastrous effects of public assistance which impedes the redistribution of labor. Professor Clay lays the guilt at the door of unemployment insurance, no doubt with justice. But (1) poor-law relief is in volume almost as great a factor. Both these branches of public assistance spent approximately £50,000,000 in the last year for which figures are available. (2) The operation of the poor laws has a far more anchoring effect. Unemployment insurance is operated at an employment exchange, which at least makes some attempt to offer the applicant work, whether in or out of his own district; and, theoretically, benefit, especially "extended" benefit, can be withheld if he refuses to go to it. The poor-law guardians have no concern or connection with any district but their own; they have no machinery for acquainting them with the existence or otherwise of employment. In Poplar and the "Poplarized" unions, families are anchored stem and stern, since it is the practice of the guardians to relieve, as unemployed, the youthful single members of a family, or the head of the family, without regard to the incomes of the other members. On this subject Mr. Lansbury said at the conference in February, 1928, already mentioned, "To govern relief by the income of a whole family is an iniquity."

Both troubles aggravated by the Poplar policy.—Professor Clay gives a table showing that between July, 1923, and July, 1927, ten industries between them had added 874,760 to the number of their employees, while ten other industries had curtailed their staff by 304,120. Alongside of each he quotes the unemployment percentages at the two dates, showing the enormous importance of redistribution. While admitting Professor Pigou's contention about the aggravation of unemployment by artificially maintaining high wage rates, he claims that effective redistribution should precede wage reduction. We must remind him of Adam Smith's aphorism that "human beings are the most difficult luggage to remove in the world." It is also notorious that, from sentimental pride, men will cling to a high nominal rate of wage long after it is their interest to lower it. These two unhappy tendencies, pride and viscosity, are precisely the ones which Mr. Lansbury, with the approval of Dr.

Marion Phillips, has persistently intensified by his public assistance policy for the space of a generation.

The thought-processes of Mr. Lansbury and Dr. Phillips.—Can we explain at all why the intuitions of Mr. Lansbury and Dr. Marion Phillips are so different from those which come to us from the same phenomena? I think we can. They both view the situation from the point of view of getting something from an outside source for their clients as clients. Comment by the Labour party in the House of Commons on the working of social insurance and all forms of public assistance is always the same: "You are not giving my client enough." Mr. Lansbury does not say, "Don't give that big lad there money to live in idleness: let him go and earn his living by making himself useful to his neighbors." He says, "You are only giving my client an allowance. You must do much more than that. You must build, equip, and supply workshops for him and then pay him for working in them." It is still what Mr. Lansbury feels about the client. It is never an attempt to see it from the client's point of view, who needs above all to be thrown on his own resources, to do something for himself, to feel that he is a man, to overcome obstacles, to wring security out of uncertainty. If only the community he belongs to will get busy, will make and sell and exchange things, he cannot fail to have a chance of showing his metal. That is exactly what southeastern England, in despite of the disastrous wrecking tactics of Mr. Lansbury's friends, has done, and that is exactly the wholesome civic life from which Mr. Lansbury's unhappy clients, seduced by his doles, are cruelly excluded as their first parents were from the garden of Eden. To quote again from his own speech, "All we are doing for the unemployed today in Poplar, Bermondsey, and the waterside districts is futile."

It is all very sad. I have always admired Mr. Lansbury and regarded him as a friend. We have always been at one as to the end; we differ only on the means. I, too, am psychologically bound by what I want for my clients. I want for them what Milton taught me to want for them. Mr. Lansbury and Dr. Phillips think an ingenious arithmetical redistribution of assets and reconstruction of machinery will get them there. I used to think so. Now, more especially since visiting America, I don't.

But Mr. Lansbury and Dr. Phillips are only part of that movement of thought in this island which has swept Whitehall and has produced in twenty years our large scheme of, and large expenditure on, public assistance. Most of it is called social insurance, but in operation it has been found to produce the same reaction in a large section of the people, and those the ones who matter, as the old poor law, reformed in 1834. Our Socialist agitators of all parties have brought in insurance laws, but they have failed to impart the insurance or insuring mind. They have revived the obol of Athens, the *annona* of Rome and Constantinople, and the people they wanted to lift up have reacted "as it was in the days of long ago and as it still shall be."

Progress of the unpauperized people.—The other kind of people, the people who can take care of themselves, have reacted differently. They have quietly pocketed these gifts from the taxpayers and said nothing about it. Between 1910 and 1924 they increased their annual payments to "ordinary" life assurance companies from £25 to £51 millions, to "industrial" life assurance companies, from £15 to £34 millions, and to the "collecting" societies, from £3 to £8 1/3 millions. In the same period their building societies increased their advances on mortgages from £9 1/4 to £40 1/2 millions, and their provident societies their assets from £62 1/2 to £202 1/3 millions. The sales of their co-operative societies rose (wholesale) from £38 millions in 1912 to £90 in 1924, and (retail) from £80 to £176 millions in the same period. From the commencement of the savings certificate movement in 1915 to date they have put £500 millions into them (maximum permissible holding of one person £500). Even in 1927, after the colossal impoverishment of the coal-strike year, 1926, 43,908,482 of these at 16s. each were purchased. Is there perhaps here an element of truth in another intuition, viz., that left to themselves the people will thrive and prosper while the well-meant efforts of legislators chiefly serve to drag them down?

What happens when relief is curtailed: West Ham.—The question which must necessarily arise in the mind of the reader is, "Suppose Mr. Lansbury or other similarly situated guardians in England took this advice and began to cut down their relief to the unemployed, what would happen? Would the people look after them-

selves? Or would the guardians, after inflicting upon them some weeks of great hardship, find themselves compelled to resume their support?" We should attempt to reply by giving the example of West Ham, and we are most grateful to Dr. Marion Phillips for using the same example. It should conduce to the convenience of the reader to have these rival theories of social economics illustrated by the same pair of examples, namely, Poplar and West Ham. The instance of West Ham is the more instructive that the district is, geographically, a continuation of Poplar eastwards.

Dr. Phillips has explained that nearly two years ago the functions of the West Ham guardians were taken over by three government officials. The unemployed on relief in the first week of February, 1926, were 16,104; in the first week of February, 1928, 4,157. The official view is that the great majority of these have found work. They hope to produce evidence of the fact, but the investigation is difficult, as the officers have "neither the right nor the duty to follow people after they have gone off relief." The saving in local taxation consequent upon replacing the elected guardians by appointed officials is already £1,076,000 per annum. Yet several items show an increase, e.g., in maintenance, rations, furniture, drugs, and medical appliances, consequent upon improvements in the work of the poor-law hospitals in the area. It might be supposed that there would be an increase in institutional relief in West Ham. The opposite is true. While the total outdoor relief figures fell by 14,941 in the two years, the institutional relief fell by 60. The halls and saloons which used to be full of young men all day are now empty during working hours. The provision shops which were receiving relief tickets in exchange for their goods are now doing an equal business for cash.

Dr. Phillips' infant mortality figures.—It follows naturally from her line of thought that Dr. Marion Phillips should assume that the curtailment of relief to the able-bodied in West Ham would result in hardship, and in fact she says: "This means depriving many thousands of women and children of all relief or diminishing the amount they were receiving. Meanwhile the death-rate of infants has increased from 45 per thousand births in the June quarter of 1926 to 57 per thousand in the same quarter for 1927." While

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observing that figures of infantile death-rates are more powerfully affected by epidemics of diarrhoea and the like than by efforts, even the most violent, of politicians, we fully admit the importance of this point.

By the courtesy of the Minister of Health we are able to submit to the reader the following by way of comment:

The only way in which it would be possible to arrive at the increase in the infantile mortality rate in West Ham, which is mentioned by Dr. Phillips, would be to select specially chosen periods for the calculation. Thus, in the second

TABLE V
DEATHS OF INFANTS UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1,000 BIRTHS

Period	England and Wales	Great Towns	West Ham C.B.	West Ham Union*
1923.....	69	72	60	53
1924.....	75	80	78	67
1925.....	75	79	66	58
1926.....	70	73	56	58
1927.....	69	71	60	59
July 1, 1924, to June 30, 1925.....	71	74	58	59
July 1, 1925, to June 30, 1926.....	73	77	58	58
July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927.....	73	76	67	67
July 1, 1927, to December 31, 1927..	58	62	46	47

* Comprising West Ham County Borough, East Ham County Borough, Leyton Borough, Walthamstow Urban District, Woodford Urban District, and Wanstead Urban District.

The figures for the periods ended June 30 and December 31 do not include Wanstead Urban, which is relatively small and would make no material difference.

quarter of 1926 it so happens that there was an unusually low infantile death-rate in West Ham, the actual figure being 45. The corresponding figure for the second quarter of 1927 was 57. Thus, by picking out these two particular periods a substantial increase can be shown. The position would, however, be materially altered if the two following months, viz., July and August, 1927, were included. For the figures for these months show that the infant mortality rate was only 35 as compared with 37 for the corresponding months in 1926.

It is possible to find other comparable areas in which the rise in the infantile mortality rate in the second quarter of 1927 equalled or excelled the rise in West Ham. Thus, in Shoreditch the rate was 39 in 1926, and 71 in 1927; in Hackney the rate was 35 in 1926, and 49 in 1927; while in Stepney the figures were precisely the same as in West Ham, viz., 45 in 1926 and 57 in 1927.¹

In further elucidation the Ministry kindly supply the figures as given in Table V.

¹ Shoreditch and Stepney are controlled by Socialists and have lavish outdoor relief. Hackney borders on West Ham geographically, but has not of late been under a Socialist group.

Equalization of rates in London: "Labour triumph."—Dr. Phillips takes credit to her party for their success in forcing "the rich areas of London to pay something toward the expenses of the poor." A group of Labour politicians "had actually to go to prison before this reform was won. Even this reform, however, only means that in London the poorer areas get some assistance from the richer ones. It leaves the cost of outdoor relief entirely on the rates, no help being given from central funds."

We only wish this were true! If it were, many a stout fellow in Poplar, Stepney, Greenwich, Woolwich, Shoreditch, and Bethnal Green would now be earning good wages instead of, as Mr. Lansbury woefully admits, loafing about the streets! As this particular triumph of the Labour party is principally responsible for the situation Mrs. Webb so bitterly deplores, it will be as well to set it out somewhat fully. Even the British legislature, down to 1921, held that the maintenance of an able-bodied man or woman in idleness out of public funds was a disastrous policy. Illegal from 1834 to 1911 but authorized in the latter year by Mr. John Burns, president of the Local Government Board, it was even then held in check by the necessity of raising the money in the area for which the guardians were responsible.

By an Act of 1867 many poor-law services, though controlled by the local guardians, have been paid for centrally from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund. So far has this local control by popularly elected guardians of moneys found centrally been carried that, in 1925-26, of a total metropolitan poor-law expenditure of £10 1/3 millions (for a population of 4 1/2 millions), no less than £8 millions came out of central funds. There has never been any control over this fund. The drafts of the local guardians have been honored automatically. In 1921 the Labour party, not without a substantial measure of local intimidation, persuaded Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Alfred Mond¹ to allow the board of guardians to charge their outdoor relief to this fund. Still no controlling body was set up, and the powers of control vested in the minister of health by the act of 1921 were removed by the Labour government in 1923. The party were not slow to take advantage of the anomaly. The

¹ Minister of Health, 1921-22.

sums received from this central fund by the Socialist boards are as follows:

	1921 (Pounds)	1927 (Pounds)
Poplar.....	64,237	564,778
Stepney.....	112,094	366,304
Bermondsey.....	49,956	270,865
Greenwich.....	39,705	235,891
Bethnal Green.....	49,348	218,991
Southwark.....	70,933	219,302

All the while unions in London with as much real, not manufactured, poverty as these were actually paying into this fund and getting nothing out. By the automatic operation of this fund the politicians in control of these unions were able to charge the maintenance of thousands of idle people upon the house rent of all sorts of sick, aged, and struggling people in other parts of London!

The victory of the Poplar group has meant a cruel injustice to thousands of their fellow-Londoners.—But it has worked most cruelly of all upon the lives of the misguided unemployed of Poplar and the Poplarized unions. West Ham could be checked in its career of demoralization by official action. Poplar, where the abuses were far greater, continued on its primrose path because of the automatic operation of the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund. The failure to set up a controlling authority in 1921 has gone far to ruin the civic status and spirit of near 100,000 people.

In one sense the whole incident belongs to the petty politics of one town. In another it establishes a principle. Socialist politicians are generally held up in sight of the promised land by the necessity of taking people's money from them before making them perfectly happy by giving it back to them. Here is at least an example of a Socialist group in control of a piece of local administration spending unlimited funds which they did not have to raise. How has the experiment worked? Mr. Lansbury himself will tell us what he told the House of Commons, that he has "never before known Poplar so miserable." Of the value of this costly adventure as a remedy for unemployment we have already quoted his verdict; he says "it is futile."

III. THE ALTERNATIVE

In an age which is not disposed to leave these matters alone, what is to be done if public assistance, whether under the guise of social insurance or of relief, operates so disastrously and draws from a large section of the people so lamentable a reaction? The answer is supplied by Miss Gordon Hamilton in her address, already cited, at Buffalo, "No wholesaling." And we would add, "If possible keep the relief of unemployment off public funds, because once you make these available for this purpose, nothing in a democracy can stop wholesaling." That at least is recent British experience for what it is worth.

The alternative is case work.—But what kind of case work? The only case work done under unemployment insurance legislation is by the referees and the umpire dealing with the appeals against refusals of benefit. Elaborate and costly as is this work, it is hardly even a travesty of case work. The issue always is, Do the industrial circumstances of A, when stated in general terms, entitle him to subsist in idleness wholly or partly at the public expense? A, as an individual human being, is excluded from consideration. Unemployment insurance and case work are like a Chinaman and the man who killed his father. They cannot live under the same sky. Mr. Adie told us at Buffalo that we must rediscover the individual in industry. Unemployment insurance will not help us to do so.

Poor-law relief in this country has always been individual and retains something of that character despite the efforts of this socialistic age and its Labour party to "wholesale" it. Writing, as we are, to the land of thorough, constructive, psychiatric case work, we must bespeak the patience of our readers to glance at some of the case work done by socialist boards of guardians in London in 1927.

Here is an extract from an inspector's report on Shoreditch in 1927:

Several lodging-house occupants had moved into Shoreditch from neighbouring unions and received outdoor relief as a matter of course, although in many cases they appeared to be undesirable characters. One man who had served three sentences for being a suspected person still received relief. In many cases the applicants' own estimates of their earnings were accepted, some of them being bookmakers' agents.

The inspector was struck by the large number of women with illegitimate children who were receiving relief. On October 1 there were sixty-eight such cases of single women, women living apart from their husbands, and widows, with 147 illegitimate children—eleven of them in one street.

Details were supplied of seven cases as the result of personal visits by the inspector. These, he said, showed that it was possible for a man to be in receipt of relief from this and a neighbouring parish for nineteen out of the last twenty-four years. During this time he had been convicted of five offences, three of which were against the Guardians from whom he was receiving relief.

It was apparent that work was not desired by some of the recipients of relief. One man refused regular employment at £2 15s. a week, but continued to receive outdoor relief. Where such conditions were found it was obvious that drastic alterations in methods of administering outdoor relief were necessary.

Here are some cases brought to the notice of the Greenwich guardians by the inspector:

Man, aged 39, wife and no dependent children. He has been on relief with few breaks since 1922. In October, 1927, whilst in receipt of relief at the rate of 26s. 2d. a week, he was sentenced to a month's hard labour for assaulting his wife and severely injuring her eye. On his release from prison the relief granted to him was still in the form of unconditional outdoor relief.

Man, aged 46, with a wife and four children, all of whom have been born since he first came on relief in October, 1920. During these seven years his earnings have amounted to 15s., and his relief to £677 19s. 6d., plus boots and clothing to the value of £7 12s. 11d. The relief officer reported in October, 1926, that he does not appear to have made any effort to obtain work. He is still receiving unconditional outdoor relief at the rate of 37s. 2d., plus 4s. 1d. for milk for his new-born child.

Labourer, aged 30, wife, and two children born whilst he was on relief. He was on relief as a single man from September, 1921, to September, 1925, with breaks. In December, 1925, he married and came on relief again after two months. Except for gaps totalling nine weeks he has been on continuous relief since February, 1926. He is at present receiving 34s. 2d. a week in unconditional relief at home.

Seaman, aged 26, wife and no children. Both are able-bodied. They have had relief continuously since January, 1925. The only special step taken in this case has been to reduce relief, on November 2, 1927, from 26s. 2d. to 22s. 2d. a week. . . .

Foundryman, aged 44, wife and six children, of whom two have been born since he came on relief in July, 1921. He has done about seven weeks' work in the last six years, during which he has received £580 in relief. He is now receiving relief at the rate of 46s. 2d. a week, which is in excess of local labourers'

wages. His income will not cease during Christmas week, like that of many of his independent neighbours, but will be incremented by 7s. 6d.

The inspector proceeded to cite the case of a labourer, aged 27, a single man, living in a common lodging-house, who was on relief in 1922 and 1923, when he was convicted of shopbreaking. He had been in continuous receipt of unconditional outdoor relief of 15s. a week since 1925, except for a break of three months. Another instance was that of a labourer, aged 21, a single man, living in one room, the rent of which was 4s. a week. Except for breaks totalling three weeks, he had been continuously in receipt of 15s. a week relief since June, 1926.

Among the cases mentioned to the board in Southwark by the inspector as examples of the demoralizing effect of the relief were the following:

Case A.—News agent's assistant, aged 30, with wife and two children, who has earned nothing since 1924. His unemployment benefit was stopped in May, 1925, because he was not making reasonable efforts to obtain employment. Since then he has received unconditional relief from the guardians at the rate of 30s. a week (including 10s. in kind). In September the relieving officer reported: "This man and his wife are regularly found in bed when visited for the past three years, and I am of opinion that he is an idle, indolent man, and does not look for work." Relief, however, was continued unaltered. The second child was born (October, 1926) while the man was on relief.

Case B.—A carman, aged 30, with wife aged 29 and five children under nine years of age. His last regular work was as a coal-miner in 1921. He had intermittent relief from 1922 to 1925 and since June, 1925, has had continuous out-relief at the rate of 40s. a week. He has made false statements as to occasional earnings by hawking, and is noted as having threatened the relieving officer with violence when this was discovered.

Case C.—A labourer, aged 33, with wife and five children, has been on relief since February, 1923, prior to which date he was in regular employment at 48s. a week. He is now receiving 35s. a week, plus 10s. additional relief in respect to his wife's pregnancy. In addition two children are receiving school meals. Three children have been born while the man was in receipt of relief. The woman is epileptic. On August 27 the man applied for extra food, having consumed 51s. of relief in five days.

A set of cases concerning the continuance of relief to bad characters immediately on their release from prison was also given. It included the following:

Case 1.—A man of 39, a widower with a son aged 10, who has been on relief since 1920 and has done five months' work in the last six years, was sentenced to two months' hard labour in June for indecent exposure. On leaving prison he was found to be suffering from venereal disease, but was nevertheless allowed to resume unconditional domiciliary relief of 23s. a week.

Case 2.—A bricklayer's labourer, aged 27, with wife aged 24 and three children, has received relief on and off since 1924. He has been frequently in prison for burglary and other offences. On completing six months' hard labour in May he received an increase of relief from 28s. to 33s. a week. After a further sentence of twenty-one days' hard labour in August for obstructing the police, unconditional relief was again continued at this rate.

Case 3.—A labourer, aged 29, with wife and four children, has been on relief with short breaks since 1922, in which year he was convicted for assault and damage. Since 1925 relief of from 39s. to 45s. has been given almost continuously. In October the relieving officer reported: "He will not seek employment and is quite satisfied with the relief, £2 2s. a week. His last three children have been born whilst he was in receipt of relief." On the same day as they received that report the Guardians ordered unconditional relief for a further four weeks at 40s. a week.

WOOLWICH

Similarly in Woolwich, amongst the cases quoted by the inspector as illustrations where a reduced scale would be an aid to improved administration, was one of a labourer, aged 46, with a wife and five children, all living in one room. This man had been on outdoor relief on and off since 1921 and continuously since December, 1925. His relief was at the rate of 42s. 6d. a week until October last, when it was reduced to 40s. Except when on Borough Council relief work, he has never regularly earned as much as 40s. a week since 1921. When visited, he was engaged in bundling firewood for sale, but he has apparently not disclosed this source of income to the Guardians.

In the case of another labourer,¹ aged 43, he had a wife and six children, of whom three have been born since he was on relief. The family live in two rooms, in one of which two girls aged 13 and 11 and two boys, aged 10 and 6, sleep together. "At the time of my visit," says the inspector, "one child was away from school for lack of boots. The man had been on relief since 1920, and except for Borough Council relief work he has aggregated only a few months' work in seven years. Current wages for labourers vary from 42s. 5d. to 46s. 5d. net a week. This man's outdoor relief was 50s. in 1923, when it was temporarily reduced to 40s. as a penalty for his being fined for drunkenness. In 1926 his rate of relief was 44s., and at present it was 40s. He is physically a fine-looking man, and when asked why he did not maintain his family, he replied 'It is up to you people to find me a job.'"

Amongst instances quoted in which some test or condition would be beneficial was that of a labourer, aged 33, with wife and two children. "This man," the inspector reports, "came on relief in September, 1922, when his unemployment benefit was made up to 39s. a week for himself, his wife, and one child.

¹ This case is of special interest because of the claim that since the spread of lavish outdoor relief the children have been better shod.

He was sent to Hollesley Bay on August 8, 1923, but was discharged from the colony seven days afterwards for malingering. He was at once reinstated in unconditional outdoor relief at 32s. 6d., which was increased to 39s. in October, 1924, on the birth of a second child. Relief has been practically continuous since then and is now 35s. a week." ¹⁹²⁷

A further case was that of a labourer, aged 25, with a wife and three children, who has received unconditional outdoor relief off and on since December, 1922. Two of his children have been born since then. He has done approximately six months' work during the last five years. His present rate of relief is 40s. a week.

One of the most remarkable examples given in the report was that of another young man of 25 with a wife and one child. The actual facts with regard to this man are as follows: He first came on relief six years ago. In February, 1923, he was imprisoned for fraud. Two months later he married, and in November of the same year he applied again for relief. He was offered institutional relief, his refusal of which was reported to be exceedingly impertinent. As he would not enter the institution, outdoor relief was given him for six weeks at the rate of 10s. a week to supplement his out-of-work donation, and he was then sent to Hollesley Bay. After two months he was discharged from that colony for malingering and resumed outdoor relief at rates varying up to 34s. a week. In May, 1925, he was again sent to Hollesley Bay, but was returned after six weeks for malingering. He was at once reinstated on unconditional outdoor relief at 31s. 6d., and except for gaps continued on relief till November 7, 1927, when his relief was at the rate of 32s. 6d. a week, 25s. in cash and 7s. 6d. in kind. During the last six years the periods during which he has been off relief total about twelve months. One of these gaps terminated on April 29, 1927, when he was discharged after one week's employment as an ice-cream salesman for "laziness, smoking over the barrow, and shortage of takings." The relieving officer has reported to the Guardians that "this case is most unsatisfactory," but no effective test or deterrent has been applied.

There was another illustration of a man who has a wife and two children: in six months he had been twice fined for drunkenness, and was convicted of theft, losing his employment. Three days after he had been fined for the second time for drunkenness the Guardians gave him 30s. a week relief for four weeks, and when, in November, he became entitled to 27s. a week unemployment benefit, the Board added 12s. a week.

A youth of 19, living with his wife in one room, who had been refused unemployment benefit on the ground that he was not genuinely seeking work, had received 23s. per week from the Guardians and his wife had 12s. 6d. National Health Insurance benefit.

In the week ended November 12 the Guardians paid £501 in cash relief and £303 in kind, and in support of the contention that the cash allowances were too big, the inspector mentioned a case of a labourer, with a wife and six children,

who received 45s. a week, of which 20s. was in cash, and the wife said that she received only 15s. Another man who had been sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for theft was given 20s. in cash and 4s. in kind, unconditional relief, as soon as he left prison. After a gap of five weeks, during which the man earned 35s. a week, he resumed relief at rates varying up to 25s. a week in cash, plus 7s. 6d. in kind, until August last, when he was again sent to prison for theft.

It would have been more apt to the present paper to have quoted some Poplar cases. The inspector has held an inquiry there also, with, we believe, even more startling results than these. So far his report has not been made available to the public.

CONCLUSION^T

Our London experience goes to show that there are many drawbacks to the public assistance of the able-bodied, and it conforms among others to the experience of Juvenal in the second century A.D. In the guise of insurance it is totally devoid of case work; in the hands of the guardians the case work is not very good. We adhere to the classical view that the unemployed should be assisted from voluntary sources and that thorough constructive case work should be done on each case.

We bring this fragment of an article on British social insurance to an end here for the sole reason that it is required in Chicago on a fixed date and must be posted forthwith. We are painfully aware of its incompleteness and shortcomings.

If we grant Dr. Phillips her premises, her argument proceeds to the desired conclusion with cogent and delightful lucidity. But we find her premises to be ideal abstractions without counterparts among the shadows of the cave in which we dwell. Compared to her bright world we are as men groping in a black or yellow fog, but it is actual fog, that of London, England. We shall attempt to press home our point of view by borrowing some of Mr. David Adie's splendid sentences from the November issue of *The Family*.

"In spite of ourselves," he says, "there is a law of gravity carrying us toward the quantitative aspects rather than the qualitative." "We, too, are suffering from pressure, insistent and diabolical, with the result that but too often we but touch the surface of our problems." "It is necessary to arrive at the 'how' and the 'why' facts

on the basis of co-operative analysis rather than by the method of deduction colored by any traditional belief." We commend these to Dr. Phillips. To ourselves we take these others: "The mechanical development which has characterized the past half-century, through which we have achieved remarkable results by the mere pressing of a button, must not give us to believe that there has come within the power of the individual the ability to rush headlong through life, finding our way by a series of philosophic billboards whereon are displayed condensed and concentrated directions." "Not with the strident steps of the confident do we arrive at the House of Understanding."

J. C. PRINGLE

THE CHARITY ORGANISATION SOCIETY
LONDON, ENGLAND

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APPENDIX

DEVELOPMENT OF EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC AS

ENGLAND AND WA

EXPENDITURE UNDER THE FOLLOWING ACTS I	TOTAL EXPENDITURE (OTHER THAN OUT OF LOANS) DURING THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31						TOTAL
	1891	1901	1911	1921	1926 (or Latest Available Year)	1927 (Estimated)	Interest Loans Provision Repayment Loans
	(£) 2	(£) 3	(£) 4	(£) 5	(£) 6	(£) 7	(£) 8
a) National insurance (health) acts				26,370,000	33,094,000	35,000,000	
b) Widows', orphans' and old-age contributory pensions act					1,412,000	6,624,000	
c) Unemployment insurance acts				9,701,027	41,397,024	47,691,578	30
d) War pensions acts, and the ministry of pensions act				90,923,820	57,470,528	54,250,000	
e) Old-age pensions acts				18,326,408	24,860,541	27,448,900	
			6,299,931				
f) Education acts	10,079,000	16,969,000	29,050,000	76,404,849	79,361,392	80,115,416	3,67
g) Acts relating to reformatory and industrial schools	376,270	424,139	582,317	1,154,108	619,382	565,000	1
h) Inebriates acts	44	4,235	21,909	17,414	5,433	5,000	
i) Public health acts, so far as they relate to: (i) hospitals and treatment of disease	410,000	1,330,000	1,850,000	7,310,000	6,235,000		50
(ii) maternity and child welfare work			Not ascertained	1,904,174	1,819,000	2,103,000	4
j) Housing of the working classes acts	238,000	410,000	747,000	4,240,000	17,639,000		13,06
k) Acts relating to the relief of the poor	8,456,017	11,548,885	15,023,130	31,924,954	40,142,000		83
l) Unemployed workmen act				74,403	43,060		
m) Lunacy acts	566,000	1,021,000	183,585	2,435,000	2,914,000		69
n) Mental deficiency act			1,503,000	640,000	1,005,000		
Totals	20,125,331	31,707,259	55,260,872	271,426,157	308,017,360		19,14

* Return showing, so far as particulars are available, the total expenditure (other than out of loans for capital purposes) in England respectively, and the total number of persons directly benefiting from the expenditure for the year 1926, ordered by the House of Comm

SISTANCE IN ENGLAND IN 26 YEARS*

LES

L EXPENDITURE ACCOUNTED FOR IN COL. 6 SUBDIVIDED BETWEEN			RECEIPTS FROM WHICH TOTAL EXPENDITURE ACCOUNTED FOR IN COLS. 4 AND 6 WAS MET				TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS DIRECTLY BENEFITING FROM THE EXPENDITURE INCLUDED IN COL. 6
st on and on for ment of ns)	Adminis- trative Expenses (£) 9	All Other Expenses (Benefits, etc.) (£) 10	Local Rates (£) 11	Parliamentary Votes and Grants (£) 12	Other Receipts (Contributions, Fees, Interest, Rents, etc.) (£) 13	Total of Sums in Cols. 11, 12, and 13 (£) 14	
.....	4,510,000	28,584,000	.....	6,255,000	27,152,000	33,407,000	14,550,000
.....	230,000	1,182,000	.....	.....	4,139,000	4,139,000	337,000
2,858	4,126,716	36,967,450	.....	12,014,718	32,299,077	44,313,795	10,326,900
.....	2,552,582	54,917,946	.....	57,470,528	.....	57,470,528	1,516,300
.....	821,499	24,039,042	.....	24,860,541	.....	24,860,541	1,063,000
.....	.....	.....	.....	6,299,931	.....	6,299,931	.....
1,012	4,306,841	71,383,539	32,545,180	40,589,779	6,226,433	79,361,392	6,897,294
.....	.....	.....	12,505,000	15,261,000	1,284,000	29,050,000	.....
5,446	19,415	584,521	249,669	312,611	57,102	619,382	7,069
4,715	.....	718	217,397	308,785	56,135	582,317	.....
.....	.....	.....	1,300	.....	4,133	5,433	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	21,909	.....	21,909	.....
5,000	76,000	5,654,000	3,862,000	1,844,000	529,000	6,235,000	.....
.....	.....	.....	1,699,000	22,000	129,000	1,850,000	.....
2,000	152,000	1,625,000	743,000	731,000	345,000	1,819,000	.....
6,000	110,000	4,463,000	1,117,000	7,644,000	8,878,000	17,639,000	.....
.....	.....	.....	224,000	3,000	520,000	747,000	.....
7,000	1,361,000	37,944,000	34,538,000	3,328,000	2,276,000	40,142,000	1,325,701
.....	.....	.....	11,757,298	2,451,894	813,938	15,023,130	.....
.....	6,060	37,000	2,000	60	41,000	43,060	Not as-
.....	.....	.....	64,553	81,521	37,511	183,585	certain
2,000	20,000	2,202,000	1,564,000	194,000	1,156,000	2,914,000	103,892
.....	.....	.....	940,000	223,000	340,000	1,503,000	.....
3,000	19,000	978,000	365,000	503,000	137,000	1,005,000	.....
4,031	18,311,113	270,562,216	74,987,149	155,747,237	83,239,745	313,974,131	.....
.....	.....	.....	27,407,248	24,073,040	3,180,584	55,260,872	.....

and Wales under certain Acts of Parliament during the years ended March 31, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1926, and 1927, ns to be printed November 8, 1927.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE ACTIVITIES IN GREECE

PEOPLE living in a country with a history are handicapped. They are considered as archaeological studies and examined as museum specimens. First they must disprove the hypothesis of being dead, and then suffer from an invidious comparison with their ancestors. People dwelling five thousand miles from New York are interesting to the average American because of their differences, not their resemblances. It is the picturesqueness of their dress, the peculiarities of their manners, and the strangeness of their habitations that attract the traveler. The friendly desire for acquaintanceship and understanding are not the common motives for journeys into far countries.

Every American of nordic descent has his positive, though often undefined, ideas of every other nation and race that sends its surplus population as immigrants through Ellis Island. He has formulated his opinions from his personal contact with a single immigrant or a business association with a small group of these people, estranged from their homeland and strangers in their adopted country. Races are carelessly classified, and mistaken generalities are repeated and perpetuated.

It is the privilege of the student, the sympathetic traveler, and the interpreters of mankind to remove prejudice and to substitute truthful for erroneous ideas. It is hoped that this abbreviated study of the social conditions and of the constructive and corrective social agencies of Greece will arouse a new interest in the country and its people.

The visitor to Athens may be disappointed. He will find the people have little resemblance to classical statuary; the simple tunic has long been outfashioned in favor of the latest Paris or London mode. He will discover a city well built, dazzling in whiteness, modern in most of its facilities, ancient only in its history and its fondness for classical architecture. The passing traveler is guided to the Parthenon, the Temple of Zeus, the Museum, the hotel for luncheon,

and back to the tourist ship. His impressions from this passing day are determined largely by his own pleasant or unpleasant personal experiences ashore and by his contact with a single guide. But Athens is not all of Greece, nor are the people whom a passing stranger meets, all of the Greeks. Understanding comes from long association, and appreciation from much understanding.

Welfare work of any kind and in any place presupposes that the recipient, as well as the giver, is a human being, but constructive philanthropy, whether at home or abroad, can be built only upon a foundation of community and individual charitable interest and practice. The Greeks, whether as a nation or as scattered racial minorities grouped about the church as an ethnic center, have an inherent sense of social responsibility. Philanthropy, which is a distinctive Greek word meaning "love of man," is more than a governmental obligation; it is a matter of active individual interest and concern. A catalogue of the public buildings and charitable institutions in Athens, with the names of their donors, is a confirmation of this fact. The museum, the library, hospitals, institutions for the aged, insane, and defectives, orphanages and schools, the stadium and exhibition halls, the boulevard from Athens to Phaleron, and even some of the prisons, are material evidence of this spirit of private giving and philanthropic responsibility latent in every Greek. Even though he has left the homeland and found prosperity on other shores, still his thoughts turn toward Hellas; and soon some institution, commensurate with his new-found wealth, rises somewhere in Greece as a memorial.

The development of social welfare agencies has paralleled the growth of the country since the days of independence in 1832. Their beginnings and enlargement have been varied. The methods followed in the application of social welfare principles have been equally diversified. Nevertheless, the growth of organizations and institutions has followed close upon the community needs and, on the whole, generous provision has been made, largely through private benevolence, for child care and welfare service. Until the Smyrna disaster in 1922, Greece had never asked or received outside charitable aid to solve her current social problems. It was only when the population of the country increased nearly 25 per cent within a

period of four months, when the people were clothed in mourning as a symbol of defeat, when the country was overrun with refugees and orphans, that Greece accepted foreign assistance. Even in this emergency, America's contribution was small compared with that made by Greece herself. But America's aid was timely. It was encouraging. It was constructive in its adaptation of proved methods to the permanent solution of the special child orphan problem. This, however, is a question for later study.

Social conditions in Greece, as elsewhere, have been influenced by political, geographic, religious, and racial considerations and characteristics. It is difficult to formulate an exact appraisal of the influence of three hundred and fifty years of oppression under Turkish rule in Old Greece and four hundred and fifty years of the same administration in New Greece, for Macedonia was transferred from Turkey to Greece only after the Balkan war of 1912. Still more recently, even within the last six years, a million and four hundred thousand refugees—Greeks, for centuries a minority race in Asia under Turkish rule—have been added to the social fabric of the country. Evidence of Turkish influence is discernible in all parts of the country, in the language, in manners and customs, and in racial characteristics developed in the struggle for survival and existence. The last great migration of people not only brought most of the Greeks of Asia to Europe, but it returned most of the Moslem Turks of Greece to Asia, with the exception of some thousands still living in Western Thrace under the terms of the Lausanne Treaty. Ottoman oppression has been thrown off, but Ottoman influence still lingers, lessening with each succeeding generation.

Greek independent political development was early set in a German mold of bureaucratic administrative government. King Othon of Bavaria became the first ruler of the liberated Hellenes. The adaptability of the Teutonic form of political expression to the individualism of the descendants of Pericles can well be questioned. Moreover, the political manipulations of all the countries of the Balkans, including Greece, by the larger European states, for the benefit of the latter and not the former, explains many recent wars, with their attendant social consequences and influences.

Historians attribute the failure of the early Greeks to formulate

a unified national state to the geography of the peninsula. This was undoubtedly an important factor in the development of the differences between the individual Greek city states. This isolation by mountains and sea has had a continuous influence on the people. Until the automobile came into common use on every possible highway, communication was difficult except by sea, by a single railroad, and by the donkey, the latter locally called "the Ford of the peasant." The rural communities were insulated from vital contact with the progressive cities, and their social customs and manners remained untouched, intact, and unchanged. There is a marked difference between the rural and urban populations. This is a characteristic of Greece, as of many other European countries. Two-thirds of the population dwell in the villages and rural districts. Their social problems are distinctive.

The church, closely affiliated with the state, has been the most important single social agency in the development of Greece. Outside of the country, it has been the strongest factor in the maintenance of Hellenism. All the hopes and aspirations of the unredeemed Greeks have centered about the church, and this institution in return has received the loyal support of practically every Greek. The church has been the organization around which the educational and benevolent institutions have most naturally developed. It has been an inspiration and stimulus to generous giving. In Turkey, the members of the Greek communities voluntarily taxed themselves 10 per cent of their income, in addition to the payment of governmental taxation, for the support of the Greek church and its affiliated schools and welfare institutions. The patriotic and religious motives are co-mingled in the extraordinary generosity of the Greeks toward philanthropic work of all kinds.

Today, the church in the rural communities is the most important religious and social factor in the life of the villages. It nurtures and perpetuates community standards. National and community festivities, name days, and feast days are practically all church holidays.

The rural communities furnish little material for the study of the development of social welfare agencies. The church and the family are the institutions about which the social life of the community

revolves, but a survey of the social conditions in the Greek village is necessary to an understanding of the social problems of the country as a whole.

The term "family," as used in Greece, is an enlarged concept of the American understanding of the word. It is a compact unit, permanent in its structure and embracing relatives to the remotest degrees. In rural districts, it assumes responsibility which elsewhere is too frequently allocated to Government or private social institutions. It fully cares for the dependent and defective, and maintains the social standards of the community.

The child is an economic asset and early assumes his share of the common responsibilities of the home. Education is general to the age of twelve or thirteen, or through the common schools. Special child welfare activities are practically unknown. Recreation comes on holidays and generally in family groups and includes folk dancing and singing, instrumental music, and feasting. Marriage is arranged by the parents and takes place in comparatively early youth, provided the bride's dowry is available and the groom is well established in business.

The morals of the ordinary community are high. The acceptance of the double standard allows for a different attitude toward boys and girls before marriage, but the family tie, once made, is seldom broken or violated.

Crime is not a serious matter in rural communities. Dependents and defectives are cared for by the family, and in cases of extreme urgency they become the responsibility of the entire community.

With the improvement of transportation and communication, the isolation of the rural districts is breaking down. There is hardly a village now that does not have its regular automobile service to the nearest railroad or urban center, and it is used by the villagers as in no other country of the Balkans. Newspapers are received daily, and local gossip—formerly the sole topic of conversation in the coffee shop—now competes with national and world news. The improvement of communication is the greatest single factor in the changing rural life of Greece.

Urban populations universally create demands for preventive and corrective social measures in the interest of the common good.

Family restrictions are weaker. Church influence is attenuated. Voluntary community restraint becomes impersonal and less effective.

Greece has a population of about six million, one-third of which dwells in cities. Athens alone has over a million inhabitants. It is more than the largest city. It is the local center of history, wealth, education, trade, ecclesiasticism, international-mindedness, and government. All these factors have contributed to the development of local and national social and child welfare agencies and institutions.

A few generalizations must precede any survey of the specialized agency and its accomplishments. An interest in private philanthropy is distinctively a Greek characteristic, and naturally its expression is individualistic. Moreover, ideas of social and child welfare theory and practice have been largely imported, either through contacts with other European people by travel or commerce, or through the selection of managers for institutions from among those Greeks who had been trained abroad in France, England, or Germany. While all this has produced a richness of ideas and stimulated individual effort, it has handicapped concerted action on a national child or social welfare program, fully conceived and governmentally and privately executed.

A study of the individual agencies naturally begins with the Patriotic League, and while not the oldest, it is the largest and most widespread in its influence and most comprehensive in its activities. It is supported largely through the private collection of funds, with an occasional supplementary subsidy from the government, depending upon state finances and the attitude of officials. The first week in December is always known as "child welfare week" and is sponsored by the League. Subscription dances and dramatic and musical programs are given under the patronage of prominent citizens. They are the social events of the season, crowded and profitable. Banks, business houses, and a selected list of citizens are personally solicited for contributions during this special week. In addition, young society ladies serve as collectors for tag day. But as yet nothing resembling the thoroughness of an American city-wide campaign has been attempted.

This special week of publicity and subscription is inaugurated

by the president of the Republic and by the Metropolitan and government officials. Moving-pictures of the League's activities, its feeding stations, clinics, and summer fresh-air camps, are shown widely in the moving-picture houses. A prize baby competition is held. The community is made socially conscious during this period. The following interesting details were gathered from the Annual Report:

The Patriotic League maintains orphanages at Patras, Salonica, and Corfu; twelve baby welfare stations and crèches at Athens and Piraeus; two stations at Salonica and one station in Volo; supplementary feeding kitchens in Athens, Salonica, Janina, Dediagatch; kindergartens in Athens; a summer camp for undernourished children from Athens and Piraeus, with a capacity of over two hundred every ten days; vocational training and employment bureaus in Athens, Chalkis and Kazani, and three in Crete; children's hospitals and clinics in Athens and Salonica.

Orphanages are perhaps the oldest and most generously supported of all social welfare agencies. In Greece they date back to the early years of independence. Twenty-two such institutions have been erected and maintained in various parts of the country by private subscriptions, gifts, and endowments. Reference will be made later to the twenty-eight orphanages and twelve children's homes supported by the government.

Two private institutions in Athens are chosen as illustrative. The Hadjicosta Orphanage is named after its founder and builder. Special buildings for dormitories, education, worship, and work were erected and equipped for two hundred boys. In addition, the founder bequeathed an endowment sufficient for its operation and development. The Amalieum Orphanage for girls was named after the Queen, who generously supported its founding. Ever since its opening, it has been the recipient of numerous private legacies, the income from which is sufficient for its operation. There is scarcely a city or town in Greece without its community orphanage—a memorial to some public-spirited citizen or representing the united effort of an enlarged group of benevolent-minded and generous townsmen.

The orphanage continues to be a substitute for the home; it feeds, protects, and educates. Girls are sheltered until they are mar-

ried. Boys are trained in the simpler trades: wood-working, tailoring, and shoe-making, and soon after the age of sixteen are placed out as apprentices. This concept of the orphanage as a necessary institution is strengthened by the natural efforts of the director or directress and employees to maintain their positions and by the desire of unfortunate parents to have their children receive educational advantages, most easily obtainable through permitting them to be enrolled as orphans or half-orphans. The idea of substituting a home for an institution was unwelcome, unaccepted, and unpracticed. The exception to this general child welfare attitude was the occasional adoption of a child under ten into a foster home. In addition to the usual motives prompting such action on the part of the foster-parents, was the desire to replace the loss of a child from a family by the adoption of another.

The "crèche," or infant welfare station, is largely a growth of the war, with its resultant problem of a large percentage of refugee widow-mothers, the only financial support for a number of infant children. Care in the home prevented these mothers from accepting work outside, even when it was obtainable. The community and individual response to the needs of the broken family was generous. A partial solution was found in the establishment in refugee centers of nineteen crèches and infant welfare stations, where mothers could leave their children in the morning and, on returning from work, take them back home. During the day, one hot meal was served, and the children were cared for by practical nurses and helpers. The medical service and clinics in connection with these stations often served the general community child-health needs, also. Supplementary feeding stations for children, in addition to the crèches, were largely a special refugee condition and are so treated. Soup kitchens were operated through private subscriptions, government refugee appropriations, and foreign philanthropic organizations. They rendered their greatest service during 1923-24 and now have been mostly liquidated.

Children's hospitals and children's clinics have, like orphanages, appealed to private philanthropy and received a very generous response. Eight institutions are specially functioning for children. St. Sophia Hospital in Athens and the Children's Hospital in Salonica are outstanding examples of excellent equipment and buildings, and

of extensive as well as intensive service. The Children's Tubercular Bone Hospital at Voula, near Athens, maintained by the Red Cross, is an excellent example of the specialized child-medical care operative in Greece. Foundling hospitals are separately recorded because they are recognized as distinctive institutions. They are more widely distributed geographically in Athens, Salonica, Patras, Argostoli, Zante, Corfu, Candia, and Canea. However, the point of convergence of a foundling hospital into an orphanage is sometimes difficult to discern.

The defective child has received practically no governmental attention and less private consideration than some other phases of child welfare activity. For all the blind or near-blind children of Greece, there is only one institution—the Kalithea Blind School. It is an excellent establishment, but has accommodations for only sixty pupils. It was founded by Mrs. Lascaridou in memory of her daughter. She visited institutions in Europe and studied two years in various schools for the blind. She has given her entire time and practically her entire fortune to this blind school. Unfortunately, the Greek Braille alphabet which was formulated had little phonetic parallel to the Braille alphabet of England or France, and consequently the blind students are limited in their subject matter to a rather meager supply of Greek works which have laboriously been transcribed in Braille.

The mutes have been even less fortunate than the blind. No definite provision, either private or governmental, has been made. Queen Olga once sent a student to America to be trained as a mute teacher, but unfortunately, the changing conditions gave her no opportunity for service upon her return to Greece. A wealthy Athenian bequeathed an amount sufficient to build a mute school, but the depreciation of currency caused by the war now makes that sum insufficient, and no supplementary financial support has as yet been forthcoming.

Delinquent children receive special consideration, but not so much attention as some private citizens feel is commensurate with progress in juvenile correctional work elsewhere. There are no juvenile courts and there is no probation system. The delinquents are arraigned before an ordinary court, but detained in well-equipped

and well-conducted juvenile institutions: the Embirikion Reformatory for Boys and the Embirikion Reformatory for Girls. Both of these institutions were founded by a wealthy individual whose name they perpetuate. The boys—three hundred in number—are given training in the trades, wood-working, tailoring, shoemaking, and farming. They also have an excellent band. In addition to the reformatory, there is a detention prison for young men serving penalties for minor offenses, built by Mr. Averof, the donor of the marble stadium erected for the revival of the Olympics in 1896. These juvenile corrective institutions are maintained by the state. An energetic committee of citizens, under the leadership of socially minded women, maintain a home for boys released from prison and either find employment or arrange their return to their native towns. This same committee regularly visits and inspects the prisons and their management, with the full consent of the authorities. They are also working for adequate juvenile legislation, embodying a juvenile court and probation.

Institutions for the insane and incurable, both juvenile and adult, have had a long record of effective service and have had liberal private support. The abnormal social wastage resulting from refugee conditions has greatly overtaxed their normal capacity. The government has under consideration the expansion of these facilities, especially for the insane, the application of accepted theories of segregation and classification, and the institution of remedial measures for the milder forms of affliction.

Consideration of the development of child welfare agencies would be incomplete without definite reference to direct governmental participation and helpfulness through the Ministry of Public Health and Assistance. This Ministry bore the brunt of the refugee problem. It requisitioned homes and buildings and provided shelters. It supervised sanitary conditions and effectively prevented epidemics. It fed and clothed the refugees, supplemented by foreign agencies. It rehabilitated them on tillable land and built new homes, until this phase of the work was adequately provided for by the Refugee Settlement Commission.¹ It cared for the orphan, re-enforced by

¹ See this *Review* for December, 1927, Vol. I, p. 685, for a review of the work of this Commission.

private and foreign assistance. Facts taken from the governmental report on the care of children, issued two years ago, listed twenty-eight orphanages with an enrolment of 3,780, and twelve temporary homes with an enrolment of 2,420. Of the total of 6,200 orphans and half-orphans (for governmental institutions accept half-orphans on the same basis as full orphans), 1,500 were war orphans, 500 community orphans, and 4,200 were orphans of refugees. The orphanage budget of 40,000,000 drachmas, or the equivalent of about \$500,000, was derived as follows: by direct appropriation from the budget, in millions of drachmas, five; from local taxation on cheese, butter, oils, raisins, figs in the Peloponnesus and Ionia Islands; on the unloading of goods at the ports of Piraeus, Volo, and Salonica; and on produced tobacco from Chios, Mitylene, Argos, Nauplia, and Candia, six; from pan-Hellenic annual collection, two; from local contributions, communities, churches, one; donations from abroad, one-half; from orphans' work, one-half; and from special tax on the consumption of tobacco, twenty-five; making a total of forty million. The state orphanage is largely a development of the last ten years, when the needs have far exceeded the capacity of the private institutions. As far as the equipment and expert leadership will permit, these institutions are training the boys and girls in the common and simpler trades, as well as in agriculture. The total orphan figures for the same year were as follows: in governmental orphanages, 6,200; in Greek private orphanages, 2,521; in American Near East Relief orphanages, 7,451. Total: 16,172.

During the intervening two years, the American orphanage figures have decreased two-thirds by adopting American methods of home-placing, under supervision. The Greek private orphanage statistics remain practically unchanged, and the governmental figures decreased about a thousand, principally because of the improved economic conditions of relatives.

Two social agencies, recognized internationally, are exerting a deep influence on the youth of the country. The Junior Red Cross reaches out to the remotest school, with its program of health and wellbeing. Over twenty-five thousand copies of their monthly magazines are distributed to subscribers. The Boy Scouts have gripped the imagination and interest of the boys—each town priding itself

on having at least one troop. Each year a national jamboree is held in the Stadium at Athens. Representatives from all Greece are present. A week is given over to the program, and the stadium, seating fifty thousand people, is completely filled on the last day of this annual celebration.

Crime, even under the duress of refugee conditions, mounted only slightly. The Greeks are law-abiding citizens. The city police are British trained, and the country gendarmerie is effective. The courts are expeditious. For major offenses the penalty is severe and immediate. There are less than six thousand prisoners, a ratio to the total population of one to a thousand. Prisoners are provided food, clothing, and medical care, and in some prisons trades are taught. All are expected to work. Women and girls, who form a very small percentage of the total, are segregated in separate detention institutions. In the village, where lighter crimes are punished, the prisoners' food is generally provided by the family, and little is done in the way of reformatory training, as the sentences are comparatively short.

Begging, vagrancy, and opium-selling are punishable by imprisonment. A dual standard of morals is socially recognized. The community is severe toward women and clement toward men before marriage. Prostitution is licensed, restricted, and controlled by the police.

Social legislation, up to the Balkan wars in 1912, had followed closely the advance of similar enactments elsewhere in Europe. The intervening years, filled with conflict, interrupted the consecutive development of constructive social welfare thinking and acting. During the last years of returning prosperity and peace, child, social, and health needs are again receiving active attention and are increasingly sharing in governmental legislation and the budget. In the past, state support and development of social welfare work has been less needed in Greece than in most European countries, where social welfare is a primary function of the state, owing to the widespread private interest and support of such welfare agencies.

The following pages might well be called America's contribution of child and social welfare theory and practice to the recent development of social agencies in Greece. One of the positive and constructive results of the war has been the stimulus toward international

philanthropy in America and the reciprocal acceptance of American co-operative assistance in meeting unprecedented child needs in other countries. Nowhere has this expression of good will been better understood or more gratefully received than in Greece. America offered her help in her hour of greatest need, immediately following defeat at Smyrna and the influx of a million and four hundred thousand refugees, including over eighteen thousand children convoyed from Turkey to Greece by the American organization. American personnel, adapting American child welfare methods, set to work helping Greece solve these abnormal social problems. The distinctive contributions made to the country's present and future welfare program, through the adoption of previously untried American methods, is briefly summarized. No reference will be made here to those theories and practices also utilized which had already found expression in Greek institutional agencies, as previously reviewed.

The principle that a home, properly selected and supervised, was preferable, in the interests of the child, to an institution, was made operative. The out-placing, or, as we preferred to term it, the in-placing, was the most important division of the child welfare organization. It necessitated careful and detailed American supervision and the training of local investigators and supervisors, as well as enlisting the sympathetic understanding of local officials and the co-operation of local committees and individuals. The finding of lost relatives, usually of the second and third degree, was both the most difficult and the most rewarding task. A full appreciation of its complexity necessitates an understanding of the difficulties of disentangling and redistributing the refugees into village groups in Greece, corresponding as nearly as possible to the village grouping in Anatolia, and it requires a knowledge of the conditions in Turkey, accounting for the existence of the orphans, their salvage and transportation to Greece. For the American in charge of reuniting these broken families, it was not only a child welfare problem of the first magnitude, but a complete substitute for the cross-word puzzle fad. Systematic visitation was made to the remotest newly established refugee villages. Detailed cataloguable information was recorded of every lost child, of a friend or neighbor. This, in turn, was analyzed and compared with information, often very meager, of the children

in the orphanages. When the data, properly matched, revealed a child and a corresponding relative, often confirmed by means of a picture, the child was sent to the town or village, providing the economic condition of the relative justified the inspector's recommending immediate reunion. Not a single case was recorded of a relative, no matter how distant, refusing to accept full responsibility and at the same time express great gratitude. Even with relatives of the second and third degree, the state recognized the additional family responsibility by the addition of another child and gave supplementary land grants.

A large number of boys, fourteen years of age and upward, were out-placed in Macedonia as student-farmers, in selected homes under supervision. An agreement between the farmer and the organization was arranged whereby the farmer supplied a home, clothes, and spending money—a few drachmas monthly—and taught the boy farming largely through work. The boy, at the end of the year, received the profits from a small area of cultivation, usually tobacco, in addition. The renewal of the agreement was at the option of the boy, and the terms were arranged by mutual consent of the contracting parties, although the supervisor often was asked to advise with the boy. At first the boys were reluctant to accept the idea. They were afraid to go out by themselves into a strange country, filled with competitive refugee labor. Macedonia seemed as far from Athens and their orphanage seclusion as Siberia. After much persuasion twenty-five boys started, but upon their arrival in Kavalla, they refused to accept the student-farmers' agreement. Instead, they found temporary employment as day laborers in the tobacco fields at thirty-five drachmas, or about fifty cents, a day. They were enthused by their first money. They wrote enticing letters to their orphanage friends urging them to come to Macedonia. Large groups of hitherto reluctant boys asked to be permitted to go. The stimulus had been generated by the boys themselves. But the prosperity of the daily wage was seasonal and short-lived. It lasted only two months. The boys had not saved any money. There were ten months of hunger ahead. Then and only then, they came to the director, admitted their mistake and asked for a student-farmer agreement. The boys themselves turned the apparent failure of this

out-placing experiment into success. Now most of the boys have bank accounts, and many have their own farms. Moreover, these student-farmers have rendered a real community health service through the distribution of posters on the danger of the mosquito and fly pest, printed in America and interpreted with a Greek legend, and have introduced orphanage recreational programs into the monotonous village life.

By granting a subsidy to a home composed of a widowed mother and several under-aged children, a more nearly normal environment was maintained and the children kept from placement in an institution. Excellent co-operation in this particular work was given by a committee of Athenian ladies. The payments were made monthly to the mothers. The homes were regularly inspected by local personnel under American supervision. As rapidly as the economic conditions in the individual home sufficiently improved, the subsidy terminated.

The placement of children in homes, but not for adoption, was more difficult. To prevent their being abused or neglected or treated as servants, and to have the family assume the responsibility of a parent, especially toward the girls, required the most careful investigation and supervision by an American worker, not a local employee. Children were accepted from American-directed institutions, but not from local orphanages. American supervision was not resented nor decisions questioned. Some of the happiest and most fortunate children have been those placed in these Greek foster-homes.

In the conservation of orphanage training and character-building during the years of adjustment after leaving the orphanage, an important contribution has been made. Vocational training received in the institution created a demand for the orphan as a worker. But it was impossible for the juvenile toilers to find decent living accommodations with their meager beginning wages. To meet this need, without risk of pauperization, working boys' homes were equipped at convenient centers. A clean bed was provided at a nominal fee, but no meals were served. Evening classes were available and clinics accessible. On holidays, recreation was organized. These homes have become the center of attraction for youthful life of the immediate community.

American theory and methods were applied to institutional management for those orphans for whom a home could not be found or provided. They were trained for economic self-support at sixteen. A survey of the local trades was made, and vocational "skills" were selected and developed accordingly. Vocational guidance was instituted. Agriculture received the same educational and practical consideration as the trades. Girls were trained in home economics and nursing. Both boys and girls were taught organized recreation and free play.

The care of the defective child received special consideration. The first mute school in Greece was organized. The Greek teacher trained in America under the patronage of Queen Olga was engaged, and the mute orphans organized into a class. She has been not only a teacher of children, but a teacher of teachers. In co-operation with the government, a second young woman is now receiving training at the Clark Institute and will soon return to become another teacher of teachers for the mute.

The blind orphan children were organized in a class under the dual supervision of an Armenian graduate of Perkins Institute who taught English and industry, and a Greek teacher who had become blind late in life. They created a Greek Braille, phonetically akin to that of France and England and different from the older Greek Braille. Students after a short time are able to read both Greek and English Braille with great facility. The advantages of a phonetically-arranged alphabet are obvious. An effort is being made to secure governmental approval and standardization of this alphabet and the establishment of state schools for the blind. A demonstration of an American industrial curriculum for the blind is also being given. The splendid efforts of the Kalithea School will undoubtedly be rewarded under a common standardized governmental program.

Nurses' training schools have been encouraged and demonstrated. The first nurses' school in Greece giving full training was inaugurated and operated by the American organization in co-operation with the local Polyclinic Hospital. The Greek Red Cross has recently opened a nurses' school with a full curriculum recognized officially by the International Red Cross nursing service. A nurses' home has been donated and a new hospital is under construction to

complete the training unit for these nurses. The American organization now co-operates in the preparation of students for the national nurses' school, giving them theory and experience in practical service in the orphanage hospital and school.

A demonstration anti-malaria campaign, under the direction of an American nurse, was conducted at Corinth. The co-operation of the city officials, the gendarmerie, and a committee of women was enlisted. By persuasion, force, and daily personal inspection, the stagnant water was drained or oiled, the wells were covered, the meadows were ditched by orphan workers, operating in squads, and the human malaria carriers clinically treated. Corinth was transformed from a disease-infested city, where over 90 per cent of the population was malaria-infected, into a city free from mosquitos and the disease. It is heralded as one of the safest and most healthful of all the cities of Greece, once avoided but now advertised.

Another contribution to the national health program was the editing of a health manual, adapting American pedagogical methods to local individual and community needs. The Greek Red Cross co-operated in its printing and in its wide distribution.

Progress has been made toward the formation of a council of welfare agencies. Approving action has been taken officially by a number of the larger societies, but the unifying organization has not as yet been finally consummated. The idea and the form were importations from America.

It has been possible to give these demonstrations of American child and social welfare methods because American generosity responded to Greece's call for help in her hour of need, with American personnel, emergency supplies for adults and orphans, and American ideas and ideals, but the success of the constructive adaptation of certain American welfare methods has been in a large measure due to the constructive welfare foundations already laid in Greece, upon which these additional American ideas and practices were built.

H. C. JAQUITH

NEAR EAST RELIEF
ATHENS, GREECE

CITY PLANNING FOR GIRLS¹

THE phrase "why girls go wrong" has been used so often and so flamboyantly by movie and melodrama producers that it has become a jesting, if not a slang, expression. The adolescent girl, with her troubles and temptations, her desires and conflicts, makes a strong appeal to persons of good will in every community.

The concrete expression of a sympathetic desire to protect, supervise, guide, and in general to act *in loco parentis* to the girl is found in the great number of social agencies through the country engaged solely in "work with girls." Most of these agencies have come into being as the result in each case of the action of a small group of earnest citizens who, growing conscious of the fact that girls in their community were "going wrong," wanted to do something about it. Seldom, however, have the societies been organized as the result of a comprehensive plan or with an equipment that would meet most effectively the specific needs of the girls in the particular community.

Because so little was known of how these agencies were serving the purpose for which they had come into being, and in order to obtain accurate information regarding the situation in Philadelphia, an inventory and appraisal of the work of the agencies in the girls' case work field was undertaken for that city. The following questions were asked, and an attempt was made to answer them: (1) What understanding of the reasons "why girls go wrong" have the staff members of these agencies? (2) What do they know about the methods of helping girls who have already got into trouble and of keeping other girls out of trouble?

It was thought that the answers to these two questions would be a starting-point from which might develop an evaluation of the actual, as well as the potential, value of the work done by the agencies working with girls in Philadelphia.

¹ The report of which this article is a part will be published in the summer of 1928 by the University of Chicago Press as Social Service Monograph No. 5.

Plans for a future program were not suddenly developed. For five years needs have been studied and developments observed.

In November, 1922, when the Big Sister Association, a non-sectarian society on whose board were representatives of all the principal local girls' agencies, was organized, the hope was expressed that it would be able to bring about a closer alignment among its member agencies. But the board of the new organization soon came to the conclusion that, before new relationships could be developed, further facts were necessary with regard to the work being done for girls in Philadelphia.

This conclusion was also reached by the board of the Girls' Aid and by the Children's Section of the Council of Social Agencies of the Welfare Federation of Philadelphia.

Representatives of the leading agencies¹ interested in work with girls met later and passed a resolution asking the Big Sister Association, with the co-operation of the group present, to make a survey of social work with the individual girl over an extended period in such a way as, "First, to give a picture of the job being done in Philadelphia; second, to gather facts to be used as a basis of future plans."

The importance of collecting data regarding other studies made in this field was of course recognized. Letters were therefore written to leaders in girls' work throughout the country, asking their counsel and co-operation; but although expressions of cordial interest were received in reply, there was no evidence of a comprehensive study having been made in any city.

The need for better co-ordination of the work of the girls' agencies is recognized in the *Study of Interrelations of National Agencies in Local Communities*.² "They have too little perspective on overlapping of programs of various agencies. Have given little thought to uncovered fields." "The absence of well-defined standards," the report further states, "is due in part to the absorption

¹ The executives of the Church Mission of Help; the Personal Service Bureau; the Superintendent of Sleighton Farm; representatives from the Family Society; the Philadelphia Federation of Churches; and the Juvenile Court; the president, three members of the Board of Directors, and the executive secretary of the Big Sister Association.

² Published by the National Information Bureau, New York City. See especially chap. vi.

of social workers in administrative tasks which have left too little time for the study of their experience. Standards do not evolve themselves; they are the product of study and reflection."

An interesting survey¹ of methods of caring for juvenile delinquents made in Rochester, New York, through a detailed examination of a group of actual cases also showed the need for better correlation between the agencies.

In fact, all data collected gave evidence of the importance of gathering further information as to the purposes and procedures of the agencies in the girls' work field as a basis for future plans and developments.

The agencies which have co-operated in the study in addition to the Council of Social Agencies of the Welfare Federation may be classified as follows: (1) Special agencies for girls, including the Girls' Aid, the Church Mission of Help, the Big Sister Association, the Personal Service Bureau; (2) children's agencies, including the White-Williams Foundation, the Catholic Children's Bureau, the Children's Aid Society, the Children's Bureau, the Juvenile Aid Society, the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, the Philadelphia Child Welfare, the Lutheran Children's Bureau; (3) agencies for work with the colored, including the Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women and the Women's Christian Alliance; (4) family welfare societies, including the Family Society, the Jewish Welfare Society, the Home Missionary Society, the Union Benevolent Society, the American Red Cross, Home Service Section; (5) miscellaneous (other service agencies), including the Travelers' Aid Society, the Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania, the Social Service Department and the International Institute of the Young Women's Christian Association, the Philadelphia Federation of Churches, the Girls' Fellowship League of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Associated Committee on Policewomen.

Representatives of these agencies were interviewed, and wherever social case histories were kept, their records were read. Leading representatives of the settlements and other recreational and

¹ Condensed report of a survey of juvenile delinquency in Rochester, New York, published by the Child Welfare League of America.

cultural groups, mental hygiene clinics, hospital social service departments, and maternity homes were consulted, and their advice was sought by personal interview.¹

There has come to be in many quarters a certain cynicism with regard to social surveys. It is constantly charged that all too often they are like stones cast into a lake, causing a few ripples which soon disappear and are forgotten, the level of the lake remaining the same. Likewise, abstract discussions frequently seem somewhat futile; for principles may be recognized and the value of certain procedures may be generally agreed upon without finding their way into the social work actually done. Every effort was made, however, to carry on this study in such a way that conclusions would be based on common agreement and that recommendations would be practical and immediately applicable.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIAL MACHINERY

In planning a social program it is important to have information regarding the whole background against which smaller groups and specific activities may be viewed. It is therefore well, before proceeding to details, to ask a few questions about the general situation in Philadelphia. How many girls are there in Philadelphia, and what proportion of the whole population are they? The population according to the United States Census Report of 1920 was 1,823,779. Of these, 916,146 were females, of whom 338,580 were under the age of twenty-one. The School Census for the year ending June 30, 1925, showed that there were then 337,028 children

¹ In addition to the above, other groups consulted in the preparation of the report include the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, the Pennsylvania Prison Association, the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, the Bureau for Jewish Children of the Federation of Jewish Charities, the Alliance of Catholic Women, the Armstrong Association, teachers, club women, other interested citizens, and representatives of the following public agencies: the State Department of Public Welfare, Bureau of Children and Mothers' Assistance Fund; the State Department of Labor and Industry, Bureau of Women and Children; the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare, Bureau of Personal Assistance; the Philadelphia Department of Education, Bureau of Compulsory Education; the Children's Commission of Pennsylvania; the Glen Mills School for Girls; the Philadelphia Municipal Court; and the District Attorney's Office.

between the ages of six and sixteen in Philadelphia. Of these, 32,669 were fourteen and fifteen years old. There were 3,659 girls at work and attending continuation school one day a week.

The United States Census shows that in 1920 Pennsylvania ranked second in the United States in the number of working women. Nearly 700,000, or one-fifth of the total female population of the state over ten years of age, were gainfully employed. Nearly one-third of the working women are found in Philadelphia. These women are young. Almost one-half are under twenty-five years of age, and a little more than 3 per cent of the employed female population is under sixteen. There are more women working between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four than in any other group.¹

Of the 338,580 girls under the age of twenty-one in Philadelphia in 1920 only a comparatively small number will ever come to the attention of a girls' agency. Most of them have been in school and have been or will be in industry. The majority of them have probably made some use of the community's recreational facilities, such as available parks, recreation centers, libraries, art galleries, and museums, and have had contact with the church. They are all affected by corrupt political conditions. The home surroundings of many of them are determined to a considerable degree by wages and hours of work, general housing conditions, and by the transportation facilities. The groups in the community characterized by illiteracy, premature work for children, illegal absence from school, and other grossly adverse conditions are growing smaller, so that numerically they are not outstanding. However, looked at from another angle, they are vastly significant, for as general community standards rise, their disabilities become more and more intolerable to them and the sense of injustice and failure in life is sharpened. As has been often said, there must be progressively higher ideals in home, school, and industry if every girl in Philadelphia is to be given an opportunity for her full development. While social workers whose tasks bring them in contact with girls should never lose sight of these ultimate goals, in the meantime they should make

¹ For analysis and comment on these figures, see Publication No. 11, Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry.

use of immediate opportunities to improve the social machinery for helping girls acutely in need.

If, through the schools, there were the application of the best principles of social case work for all girls of school age who might need it, and if there were developed community measures for the protection of girls, the number for whom a private case-working agency should care would be small. When this is realized it becomes increasingly obvious that if the work done with these girls is superficial and careless, the effect is next to negligible, if not positively detrimental to some individuals and to the community as a whole. On the other hand, thorough work and careful analysis of the conditions which have surrounded and the influences which have affected the lives of even these few girls furnish a basis of study from which can be learned both how best to help girls individually and how most effectively to develop those elements of community life which will bring out the highest possibilities of every girl.

AGENCIES PROVIDING CASE WORK FOR GIRLS

As girls are a part of the whole community and share more or less directly in all its assets and its liabilities, it is a fairly arbitrary task to select in any specific way those social agencies in the community which are to be designated as "girls' agencies." Only those agencies which have as their primary purpose personal service or individual case work with adolescent girls are included in this section and are referred to throughout as "girls' agencies." Following this section, the equipment for work with children, with family groups, and for service to persons in special situations, such as travelers, etc., is reviewed.

Certain institutional organizations such as settlements, homes for girls, orphanages, etc., have visitors to do personal work with the girls who come to them. These have not been included under "case work agencies" because their main object is to offer an opportunity for recreation, to serve as a community center, to provide housing or home care or education, or to fill some other concrete need not focused specially on individual work with girls.

From each agency through correspondence or from the published reports information was obtained on the following points: (1) the

budget, (2) the intake, (3) history of the service offered, (4) the conditions under which a girl might be given aid, i.e., the conditions of eligibility, (5) the district covered by the agency, (6) the composition of the staff, whether they were paid or unpaid, professional or volunteer, full-time or part-time workers.

EFFORTS AT CENTRALIZATION OF CASE WORK FOR GIRLS

A few general comments upon these agencies will somewhat clarify the discussion. Philadelphia has never had a strong central girls' agency except for a short time in 1912, after the Court Aid Society was organized. When the misdemeanants division of the municipal court was created in 1915 it was hoped that its probation department would be able to provide social case-work care for delinquent girls over sixteen. The court aid changed its name to "Girls' Aid" and adopted a policy of caring for girls who were not delinquent. About this time (1915) the Church Mission of Help was started for the "moral support of Protestant girls." There were occasional revisions of policy by the Girls' Aid in an effort better to meet the community's needs, but an effective correlation between its work and the work of the Church Mission of Help was never achieved.

In 1913 the Personal Service Bureau was organized to work with Jewish girls paroled from the state school for delinquent girls, and its work was soon extended to include any girl over fourteen years of age needing help.¹

"Follow-up" work is done with certain girls discharged from the House of the Good Shepherd, and the Catholic Children's Bureau, which was organized in 1914, does some work with girls over sixteen. No special girls' agency for case work with delinquent girls has been maintained by the Catholic church.

When the World War broke out there was no one agency equipped to deal with the girl problem in Philadelphia. As an emergency measure, under the general direction of the United States War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, a Philadelphia Committee on Protective Work with Girls was organized. It was composed of representative women, including Catholics,

¹ In 1927 the Bureau became a Department of the Jewish Welfare Society.

Jews, and Protestants. The director of the White-Williams Foundation supervised the work of the professional staff. It was hoped that following the war a central girls' agency would be the outgrowth of this committee. However, there did not then exist the machinery of a council of social agencies to develop group discussion and planning, or a welfare federation to consider the most advantageous use of the community's charitable funds, and this hope was not realized.

In 1922 the Big Sister Association, a non-sectarian agency, was organized to recruit and supervise volunteer workers. Since that time this study of the work of the girls' agencies has been going on, and conferences of all interested groups have been held, in which there have been free discussion and frank expression of opinion. The results of these conferences were crystallized at a meeting of the Girls' Study Advisory Group, January 16, 1926, when a resolution was adopted to the effect that there was need for a strong centralized agency for work with girls, and that steps should be taken to bring about the establishment of such an agency.

The Board of Directors of the Girls' Aid decided that with its small staff and high degree of specialization it was not reaching enough girls to make much impression on the whole problem in Philadelphia, and suspended operation pending the working out of plans for a central agency. The directors of the Big Sister Association were convinced that volunteer workers, while indispensable for a girls' service of any size, need to be attached closely to a staff of professional workers, and they were eager to join in the scheme for a central agency. However, those responsible for the Church Mission of Help have been unwilling to consider centralization. The president of the board pointed out as a reason for taking this stand that the Church Mission of Help had its origin in the belief that the church should deal with all such social problems and "should not delegate its work to social agencies." Therefore, when later in 1926 the Sesquicentennial was held in Philadelphia, there was still no central girls' agency equipped to meet the city's needs, and it was found necessary to repeat the war-time procedure of forming a special committee to develop a central case-working service for girls. The Girls' Service was then sponsored by a special committee, which consisted of representatives of the leading organizations especially

interested in girls. At the request of this committee the Big Sister Association arranged to organize and supervise the work of the Girls' Service. The crowds which had been expected for the Sequicentennial did not, however, materialize, and there were financial difficulties. As a result, the Girls' Service was never completely staffed, and the work was discontinued before the end of the exposition. This made it impossible to realize the hope of continuing a similar organization, when the Sesquicentennial came to an end, as a part of the permanent social machinery of Philadelphia. However, two of the Girls' Service workers have been continued on the staff of the Big Sister Association, and the boards of both the Big Sister Association and the Girls' Aid look forward to the formation of a well-equipped effective girls' agency in Philadelphia.

The following summary shows the scope of the work of some of the children's agencies and other private societies rendering personal service to girls. No attempt is made to review the work of the family welfare societies in this field, since their work is much like that of similar agencies in other cities. In general, the family societies have no special department of girls' work, and problem girls in families under the care of these organizations are handled by the regular family visitors, although girls' agencies are frequently called on for help in especially difficult cases.

CHILDREN'S AGENCIES IN PHILADELPHIA GIVING
PERSONAL SERVICES TO GIRLS

1. The White-Williams Foundation was formerly the Magdalen Home, which was established in 1800 to help delinquent girls. In 1916, for the first time, women were elected to the board, five out of ten members being women. The institution was at that time closed, and a director was appointed to study the situation in Philadelphia from the point of view of inadequate provision for the care of girls. In June, 1917, as a result of this study, the work of vocational guidance was begun with girls in the Philadelphia schools, and in February, 1920, the constitution was revised so as to allow work with boys as well as with girls, and the name was changed from the "Magdalen Home" to the "White-Williams Foundation." It is now a social-educational laboratory for the study and assistance of the individual child, and receives any child of school age. There are no limitations on its work because of the race, creed, or previous history of any school child. Its work is city wide. During the year 1924, 692 girls had been referred to the society. On December 31, 1924, there were 588 girls under the care of the organization.

2. The Catholic Children's Bureau was formed in 1914 to provide foster-home care for the dependent Catholic children of the archdiocese, and has become the central clearing-house for dependent and delinquent Catholic children who are committed through the juvenile court. The Bureau maintains a temporary shelter, and there are special workers to supervise the girls who are placed out by the two large child-caring homes, one worker for girls under sixteen and one worker for girls over sixteen referred for care by courts or by other agencies. On January 1, 1924, the older girls' department had 244 girls under supervision.

3. The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania receives children up to sixteen years of age needing foster-home care. The Society has a reception department, a child-placing department, and a child-study department. While there is no special department for older girls, supervision of its own girls is maintained until they are twenty-one. The number of girls over twelve years of age who were under care, November 5, 1925, including girls in hospitals, institutions, and temporary homes, was 412.

4. The Children's Bureau of Philadelphia was organized in 1907 to correlate the work for children in Philadelphia and in the state, to set good standards of child-caring work, to engage in research and in the promotion of needed legislation.

In 1920 it became a child-placing agency, limiting reception and investigation to its own intake and a few institutions. It makes careful social inquiries, uses foster families, provides the best medical oversight for all children, maintains a reception department and a child-placing department, and places special emphasis on nursing supervision of babies placed in foster homes. At present the intake is limited largely to children under six years of age, to temporary cases, and to convalescent and unmarried mothers and children. December 31, 1924, approximately forty-six unmarried mothers were under its care.

5. The Juvenile Aid Society receives for placement in boarding homes and supervises in such homes Jewish children up to the age of sixteen who are dependent and neglected, or offer conduct problems. They can remain under its supervision up to the age of twenty-one. There are no special girls' workers, as their regular workers handle cases of both boys and girls. December 31, 1924, 198 girls, of whom many were over twelve years of age, were under care.

6. The Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty is an agency which investigates complaints of cruelty to or wilful neglect of children, institutes court action when necessary, and has a temporary shelter for children. Its visitors also supervise families where conditions can be remedied without prosecution. Girls requiring intensive care are referred to a special girls' agency. During 1924 complaints were received by the Society in 2,778 cases involving 9,738 children.

7. The Philadelphia Child Welfare Association, organized in 1907 to help children in their own homes, is mainly interested in truant boys and girls. It confines its work to children under sixteen, but has no restrictions because of

race, creed, or previous history of the child. Statistics with regard to numbers are not kept, but about twenty-five girls were on its active list in 1924.

8. The Lutheran Children's Bureau of the Board of Inner Missions provides both temporary and permanent care for dependent Lutheran children. During 1924 eleven girls over twelve years of age were under its care.

9. The Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic was organized in 1925 by the Committee for the Prevention of Delinquency of the Commonwealth Fund, and is being continued through local support. Its object is the promotion of mental health in childhood through the education of the community in the best methods of child guidance. There are social case workers on its staff. Two hundred five girls, fifty of them under the age of ten, were referred to the Child Guidance Clinic up to April 1, 1927.

10. The Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women is an association which provides wholesome environment and recreation and is interested in the training of colored women and girls. After giving training, the association places girls with families who have been investigated by its workers. The association workers, while they are working with a girl through a friendly visitor, attempt to re-establish the home life. Twenty-five girls can be accommodated in the Association home.

11. The Women's Christian Alliance is an organization which does placement work with colored children and is used to a large extent by the court.

OTHER AGENCIES DOING PERSONAL WORK IN RELATION TO GIRLS IN NEED OF SERVICE

1. The Travelers' Aid Society has for its purpose the safeguarding of all travelers who, by reason of "inexperience, ignorance, or inability, are in danger or in need of assistance." Its workers refer girls who need intensive case work to special girls' agencies. During 1924, 4,819 women and girls, 1,095 of whom were under sixteen years of age, came to the attention of Travelers' Aid visitors.

2. The Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania maintains a department which does personal work with particular emphasis on the families on the Mothers' Assistance Fund waiting list. It refers difficult girls' problems to special agencies.

3. The Young Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia maintains a Social Service Department which helps women and girls who find themselves in difficulty, referring to other agencies any who need intensive case work. During 1924 its workers handled 319 special cases.

The International Institute is a special branch of the Y.W.C.A., with the object of protecting the foreign woman and girl. The workers of the Institute will assist other agencies in the case of any foreign-born girl over the age of sixteen.²

² Their records do not supply exact case work figures, but their report for 1924 shows under its various types of work: interpretations for agencies, 1,162; cases from foreign ports and cities, 66; women and girls in classes and clubs, 694; and newcomers found employment, 52.

4. Philadelphia Federation of Churches maintains a social service secretary who acts as a *liaison* officer between the Protestant evangelical churches and the social agencies. She is especially concerned with the conditions affecting women and girls and attends the juvenile court sessions regularly, referring to special girls' agencies girls who come to her attention as needing intensive case work.

5. The Philadelphia Missionary and Church Extension Society of the Methodist Church maintains a Girls' Fellowship Service worker to establish for young women who are strangers in the city satisfactory relationships in employment, home, social, and church life. She refers to special girls' agencies girls who need intensive case treatment. Her report states that over three thousand girls were ministered to during 1924.

6. The Associated Committees of Women on Police Matrons consists of delegates from various women's organizations who visit station houses, give clothing, etc., and are said to help police matrons in their "follow-up" work with discharged prisoners. There are twenty-one matrons in the police bureau of the Philadelphia Department of Public Safety. During one month, January, 1924, there were 212 children and 457 women listed by the matrons as under their care.

In addition to the roster of agencies which carry on their services under private auspices, mention must be made of publicly supported and managed services for families and persons, including also the probation staffs of the various branches of the municipal court.¹

THE COURTS AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS THAT DEAL WITH GIRLS

The probation officers attached to the city courts are in a position to carry on important case-work services for a large number of delinquent girls.²

Girl offenders in Philadelphia may be brought before any one of the following courts, the assignment depending upon the girl's age and her offense: (1) the Municipal Court in (a) the Juvenile Division, or in (b) the Misdemeanants' Division, or in (c) the Women's Criminal Division; (2) the Court of Quarter Sessions and Oyer and Terminer; (3) the Magistrates' Courts.

¹ The work of the public agencies, and especially the work of the courts, are dealt with at length in the completed report referred to on p. 234, footnote 1.

² The work of the municipal court is of great concern to any group interested in the welfare of girls in Philadelphia, but no critical examination has been made of it in this study, as there is an exhaustive study at the present time being carried on by the Harrison Foundation through a group of experts working under the direction of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

The jurisdiction of each of these various courts is fairly clearly differentiated from that of any other. They may be briefly described as follows:

1(a). *The Municipal Court, Juvenile Division.*—The Juvenile Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia has jurisdiction over delinquent, dependent, and neglected children under sixteen years of age. Children are brought to the attention of the court through arrest or upon a petition filed by a resident of the county setting forth that a child is neglected, dependent, or delinquent.

1(b). *The Municipal Court, Misdemeanants' Division.*—The Misdemeanants' Division of the Municipal Court has exclusive jurisdiction in all proceedings concerning, or trials or charges brought against, all minors between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who shall disobey their parents' command or be found idle in the streets; against all disorderly children, and against all persons, whether adults or minors, accused of disorderly street walking.¹ Disorderly children are defined as "children not under the age of sixteen years, deserting their homes without good and sufficient cause, or keeping company with dissolute or vicious persons, against the lawful commands of their fathers, mothers, or guardians or other persons standing in the place of a parent."

1(c). *The Municipal Court, Women's Criminal Division.*—The probation department of the Women's Criminal Division handles two distinct types of cases: (1) women who have been convicted of crimes, such as larceny, shoplifting, assault and battery, keeping disorderly houses, etc., in the Criminal Division of the Municipal Court and who have been placed on probation after a trial by jury, or paroled from the county prison or house of correction; and (2) unmarried mothers who are requesting assistance for the support of their children.

2. *The Court of Quarter Sessions.*—Criminal cases which are not assigned by the district attorney to the Municipal Court are heard in the Court of Quarter Sessions. No information is obtainable regarding the number of girls under twenty-one who came into this court, of the offenses which they committed, or of the disposition of their cases.

3. *Magistrates' courts.*—These courts, which are not courts of record, not only conduct preliminary hearings at which defendants may be held for the higher criminal courts, but they also exercise summary jurisdiction in certain classes of minor offenses, such as vagrancy, assault and battery, drunkenness, etc. In these cases the court has power to commit to the house of correction or to the county jail or to impose fines.

Just as in the Quarter Sessions Court, there is no information which throws light on the number of girl offenders, the charges for which they were held, or the disposition made of them.

4. *Institutions for the detention and correction of girls and women.*—These institutions fall into two groups: first, those providing for temporary deten-

¹ Act of June 17, 1915, P.L. 1017, *Pennsylvania Laws*, 1915.

tion,¹ including the house of detention, used for the temporary care of juvenile court charges, and the house of detention for the women's misdemeanants court; second, institutions to which commitment is made for longer periods of time. In this second group are the following:

a) The Philadelphia House of Correction, which reports that it cared for forty-one women and girls in 1924, and twenty in 1925.

b) The Glen Mills School, Girls' Department (Sleighton Farm), is a training school for delinquent girls between the ages of eleven and eighteen years committed by the courts in the eastern section of the state. Girls may be kept under the jurisdiction of the parole officers of the School up to the age of twenty-one. At the beginning of the year 1926 there were in Sleighton Farm 436 girls, of whom 164 were from Philadelphia. At this time 80 Philadelphia girls were on parole from Sleighton Farm.

c) The State Industrial Home for Women, Muncy, Pennsylvania, takes females over sixteen years of age convicted of any criminal offense and committed or transferred by a court of record for a term of over a year. It aims to provide training and instruction and remedial preventive treatment. During 1924 ten girls under twenty-one years of age were sent there from Philadelphia. On January 4, 1926, the Home had 13 girls in Philadelphia on parole.

d) The House of the Good Shepherd is a Roman Catholic home for the reformation of white women and girls whom it receives by personal application, court commitment, and from social agencies. On January 1, 1926, there were 211 girls in the institution. Seventy-five cases have been supervised after discharge during the year by the social service worker.

e) The House of the Good Shepherd, St. Magdalen Asylum for Colored Girls, is for the reformation of colored girls over twelve years of age. It receives by personal applications, court commitment, and from social agencies. There were eighty-two girls there on December 31, 1925, of whom thirty-five were from Philadelphia. Of these, twenty-seven were under twenty-one and were sent there for treatment in the genito-urinary clinic.

f) St. Joseph's Protectors, Norristown, provides protection of incorrigible white girls between ten and eighteen years of age. It aims to take them before they have reached the serious stage of incorrigibility in order that they may be helped in the direction of "obedience, virtue, and correct living." Children are received on commitment by the juvenile court or on application to the Catholic Children's Bureau. At the end of 1925 there were 102 girls there.

PROBATION AND PAROLE SERVICES

The Municipal Court of Philadelphia has developed, since its organization in 1913, one of the largest probation departments in the country.

¹ No figures for the girl prisoners in the county jail are available, nor could it be learned how many women and girls were held in police stations during the year.

The quarter sessions courts have a small inadequate probation department, and no probation work at all is being done in connection with the Magistrates' Court.

Those in charge of the work of the Glen Mills School for Girls and the State Industrial Home for Women are keenly alive to the responsibilities involved in the difficult task of securing the rehabilitation of delinquent women and girls. Not only should the judges handling such cases make more use of these resources, but funds should be made available to develop and extend their services. The parole work should be enlarged so that careful supervision could be maintained during the very critical time after her period of institutional care when a girl is making her adjustment in the community.

Every community spends a vast amount of money trying to prevent and detect breaking of the law. In Philadelphia there are the city police department, the county sheriff, and the federal officers, each with a large staff, whose duties are to prevent crime and to apprehend the criminal. There are magistrates and minor officials who conduct preliminary hearings; grand jurors with their clerks; the district attorneys and their clerks; the municipal court, the quarter sessions court, and the federal courts with their judges and probation departments and all their vast machinery of petty jurors, process servers, tip-staves, court clerks to determine the commission of crime and the identity of the criminal; houses of detention, jails, reformatories, prisons, penitentiaries, parole boards, and parole officers to keep prisoners in custody and to prevent further breaking of the laws.

This elaborate system which has been built up at such trouble and expense for the protection of society will continue to fail in the accomplishment of its purpose in any community so long as the influence of politics is so potent and the personnel organization of the staff have so few qualifications for understanding the problems with which they are dealing.

That methods of handling young offenders are undergoing rapid and thorough changes throughout the country is evidenced by the chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, who says:

During the first six months of 1923, 945 juveniles under eighteen years of age were admitted to prisons and reformatories and 2,445 to jails and work-

houses. These figures do not include children detained in jail awaiting the hearing or disposition of their cases. Considerable progress had been made between 1910, the year of the last census of this nature, and 1923. In the former year, 38.8 per cent of all admissions of juvenile delinquents under eighteen to institutions were to jails and workhouses, whereas in 1923 the estimated percentage was 20.8. In 1910 nearly 10,000 persons under eighteen years of age were admitted to jails and workhouses as compared with 2,445 in the first half of 1923.

Comparison of the age distribution of the juvenile offenders admitted to institutions in 1910 and in 1923 shows that considerable progress has been made in keeping young children out of penal institutions. In 1910, 2,345 children under sixteen years of age were admitted to penal institutions; in the first six months of 1923, 283. In eight of the twelve states prohibiting jail commitment of children under the age of sixteen, seventeen or eighteen years, the figures indicate substantial compliance with the law, only six children under the age specified in the law in these states having been committed to jail in the first six months of 1923. In the District of Columbia, which has a similar provision extending to children under seventeen years, three children under this age were committed to jail during this period.

These figures indicate that much yet remains to be accomplished if the ideal of the juvenile court movement—that delinquent children are to be placed under redeeming and not degrading influences—is to be realized.¹

If Philadelphia is to do its part in this movement there would seem to be need, first, for current information about the intake and disposition of cases of offenders in the entire court system of the city, and second, for the more careful application of methods found to accomplish both immediate and permanent results.

CASE HISTORIES

An analysis of case records of an agency working with girls should afford information which would permit a definition of (1) the type of case actually handled, (2) the methods employed, and (3) the results obtained, differing as the methods employed differed.

It was at first planned to read a considerable number of records, using a schedule which was prepared on which it was thought the information contained in the case histories might be summarized, since these histories are often quite voluminous. The schedule could not be used, however, because of inaccuracies in the face cards, contradictory statements in case histories, lack of uniformity in record-keeping, and a dearth of verified facts on many of the records.

¹ *Annual Report for Year Ending June 30, 1925*, p. 17.

In so far as the records reveal information as to type of case, the methods and the success or failure resulting, it seemed that carefully prepared brief summaries would probably give a more accurate and vivid picture than any attempt at a compilation of the entries on the records.

It was therefore finally decided that twelve records from each of the four girls' agencies and an equal number from each of the four children's agencies doing intensive case work with girls, making ninety-six cases from these two groups, would give a representative sample of the work of these societies.

Of the twelve records from each agency, eight were selected by the executive of the agency as illustrating typical problems which come to that agency for solution, and four were selected at random by the author from the file.

Fifty-four records, chosen from their files by executives of the remaining children's, family, and other service agencies to illustrate their work with girls, were also read. Altogether 150 case histories were summarized.

While the summaries necessarily contain many sordid details of the girls' lives, they unfortunately show very little of the aspirations, the longing for adventure, recognition, and affection which is the common heritage of all youth. These case histories indicate that many girls who have had the most wretched experiences respond to the appeal made by workers in whose good judgment and friendship they have confidence, and they show that case work can be really effective only when the needs of the girls are understood, when plans are carefully evolved on the basis of these needs, and when the client's co-operation in working out these plans can be secured.

For purposes of analysis of treatment the records examined were divided into four groups:

A. Case records showing that the needs of the girl are evidently not understood, that no compensating affection is provided, and that the girl's co-operation is not secured.

B. Cases in which the diagnosis and treatment recorded are too vague to supply a basis for appraising the agency's services.

C. Case records showing the use of institutional treatment.

D. Case records showing the need of the girl understood, compensating affection provided, and girl's co-operation secured.

In the following pages one summary from each group is presented.

GROUP A CASE

Helen Harley, sixteen years of age, was referred by the Young Women's Christian Association, which reported that she, with another girl, had left without notice and owing board. The superintendent was afraid that they had run off with two young marines. An effort to locate them was at first unsuccessful. When they finally returned to Philadelphia and were located by the girls' agency it was learned that they had been in Baltimore with two men.

The record states that Helen's father, who always drank and failed to support his family, had died when she was five. Her mother, who worked very hard and took good care of her, died when she was nine. She left school at the age of fifteen, when in the eighth grade, to take care of her grandmother, who was ill and with whom she then lived. Her grandmother died when she was sixteen, and she then went to the Young Women's Christian Association to live and became an irregular worker in positions that required relatively little training. The psychological report made when Helen was eighteen years old stated:

The Haggerty Intelligence Delta II. Reading ability about average for grade six. Arithmetic ability between seventh and eighth grade. Her work corresponds to the average from grade seven, and her ability is average for 14 years, 8 months. The Porteus Mazes, which do not depend on education or training, give her a mental age above fourteen. She is a keen observer of detail and is able to put together logically what she sees. This is shown in the Healy Pictorial Completion II, in which she makes a superior score. Her memory, both auditory and visual, is excellent. She passes all the memory tests through year 18 and is able to do the code in year 16. On the whole she has good ability. She is weak in English and is particularly sensitive about her lack along this line. She is better in arithmetic, but best of all in a practical situation. Her memory is so unusually good that it might well determine the kind of work she takes up.

The psychologist's report of a conversation with Helen brings out the following pathetic points:

She was particularly devoted to her mother and disliked rather intensely the grandmother, who brought her up after her mother's death. She resented the hard work she was obliged to do for her grandmother and the fact that she is now left without education or training. She craves superiority so much that

she cannot bear to have her weaknesses exposed even to girls of her own age. She wants to go to the Girls' Friendly, but many of these girls she knew when she was younger, and they are better now than she is, and in better circumstances. The thing she cannot reconcile herself to is the loss of her mother. She cries for her every night. She wants a "regular home" and someone to care about her the way her mother did. She cannot endure being so lonely. Somehow she cannot find anybody she cares about. Men are all alike, at any rate the kind that she meets are. She has no use for men anyway. She might marry a man if he could give her all the money she wanted, but she wouldn't marry to help a man work and make a home. If she has to work she would rather work for herself.

When asked how she came to have such a grudge against men, she says it was hearing her mother tell about her father. She wouldn't want to live a life like her mother's. He used to come home drunk and never supported her mother. She wants education more than anything, but she hates to have people do so much for her. . . . She is crazy to belong to a gymnasium and learn to swim and dance. She thinks she just wants all the things she missed in her childhood. She speaks of moods and depressions when she cannot talk to anyone, when she just has to go to bed to forget it. She worries herself to death when she hasn't a job, and feels desperate that she is so little prepared to earn her own living. . . . The girl is really a child in her desires, and is, as she says, looking for a mother and the care she should have had as a little child. She is unstable partly because she is not ready to be independent. She is afraid of standing alone. She wants to be protected. There is something about the girl that is appealing and convincing. She has enough ability to warrant assistance. If some further education could be obtained for her, especially along the line of English, it might be a good thing. She certainly should have the gymnasium and dancing, if possible. One wonders if she could be placed in a home where she would receive some of the mothering she craves.

Before going for a later psychological interview, Helen said to the social worker, "Well, here I've been to the dental clinic to get my teeth cut out. Now I go to the doctor to get my ideas cut out. I would like to have something left to myself." The psychologist reported that despite this remark "Helen resigned herself to intimate conversation with apparent enjoyment."

After expressing again her dislike of men she told of what she claimed was her only sex experience. It was recorded by the psychologist as follows:

It was just after her grandmother's death, and she was all alone. She had no money and no one to fall back on. She had gone to live with a woman who was giving her three dollars a week. She was very miserable and depressed, and a soldier took an interest in her, praised her, admired her, and made love to her.

She was crazy about soldiers anyway, and was completely carried away by his flattery. He had asked her to marry him. One night when they were out at dinner he got her to drinking. She had never had any experience with drinking before; she did not like the taste of it and she began to feel queer, but he insisted upon her going on. She does not remember what happened until she found herself in a hotel the next morning. She thinks if she had ever seen him again she would have put a bullet through his head; she still feels the same way about it; she can never forgive him. . . . She thinks she hates all her family. She blames her mother for bringing her into the world at all. She hates her father for having abused her mother and for drinking, and she hates her grandmother for not giving her better opportunity for education. She does not blame her mother as much as she does the others, but she isn't sure she really loves her mother because the time when she thinks about her is when somebody is mean to her, or she can't get what she wants, and then she thinks, "If my mother were living she would give me this—and that isn't love," says Helen.

She told the psychologist that her mother had dressed her so prettily that other children were always glad to walk along the street with her and everybody noticed her, but after her mother died all that was changed.

The agency helped Helen get many different jobs in minor clerical work, as sales girl and telephone operator, but she kept none of them long. She seemed very anxious to get more education or training, and finally the agency sent her to an institution for girls in New York, but when she found it was not a real school, as she had believed, she would not stay. The agency's visitor who went with her to the school reports:

We were shown into a dreary, forlorn-looking reception room, and Helen was conscious of the atmosphere of the place at once. Said she did not like it. While Helen was upstairs putting on the uniform of the school, the worker tried to explain to the woman in charge the spirit in which Helen was coming there. She seemed sympathetic, but said the discipline was very rigid, and there was not much chance to mother the girls individually. They did not use corporal punishment, but every night the girls stood up and were marked for misdemeanors during the day. She spoke of girls who had had sex experience as "fallen girls," and placed little value on education in the intellectual sense. She thought that character was the only thing that really counted. The girls in the institution were taught fine sewing, cooking, and laundry work. Three evenings a week, from 7 until 7:45 they had studies. One girl was having special training in French, but this rather interfered with the work of the home. She said that the girls had tether ball, croquet, and considerable time for out-of-door play. . . . In years past it had been their habit to take the girls out occasionally for an outing, and she hoped they might do so again. They had to be very careful in doing this, as the girls from the home were known and were

marked as "bad girls." When Helen returned to the room in the uniform she had been crying and was feeling very unhappy. All her personal belongings had been taken away from her, and she was to be allowed to correspond only with the social worker. . . . All persons connected with the home impressed the visitor with their age. . . . Visitor had another chance to talk with Helen alone before leaving. She was dreadfully unhappy and begged visitor to take her away at once. . . . Education was what she wanted more than anything else, and she did not see much chance of getting it there. Visitor told her that she thought it too soon to make the decision to leave, but promised faithfully to return at the end of one month to take her away if she was not happy. Visitor told the worker at the home with whom she left Helen that we thought we might have misrepresented the home, as we had referred to it always as a school, and if Helen found it was not going to give her what she anticipated we would not urge her to stay.

Two days later the head of the school wired the worker to come for Helen, as she was unhappy. After this experience Helen grew steadily more irresponsible.

For about four years close contact with her was maintained by the agency. During this time there was continued instability and immorality. Many new positions were secured; many different kinds of training were discussed. The workers of the agency were patient and interested, but Helen grew progressively more unreliable and irresponsible. Finally she gave birth to an illegitimate child, who was placed in an institution and died when seven months old. She had been so promiscuous that the paternity of the baby was uncertain, but there was evidence that the father was a physician in the hospital in which she had worked.

A physical examination had shown that Helen had never been very strong. Early in the history of the case she had complained of not feeling well and losing weight, but refused treatment. However, she had gone through a long course of very painful dental treatments, as her teeth had been in a wretched condition. When pregnant she had tried in every way to bring about an abortion. After the birth of the child she was found to have gonorrhea, and was sent to the city hospital for treatment, but refused to stay or to go to the clinic for regular treatments.

She was under the agency's care for a period of five years. The worker finally came to the conclusion that she only came to them when she needed aid, and was very indifferent to their wishes at other times. The agency expended on Helen for lunches, recreation, car fare, board, and incidentals, \$237.86. From the beginning to the end the record is a history of rapid changes of jobs and of boarding houses. She never stayed in one place or did one thing for any length of time. She did not keep the last

appointment made by the social worker with her. The last entry stated that Mrs. Bayfield, a friend, was in the office to find out where Helen was. Helen had bought a coat on her charge account and had never paid for it.

CASE COMMENT

There was careful physical examination, but inability to get her to follow out the treatment advised. There were intensive psychological examinations, but recommendations were not carried out. Although close contact was maintained for four years, the workers had no effective influence on her.

GROUP B CASE

Ruth Sampson, nineteen years of age, was referred May 18, 1922, to the girls' agency by the Young Women's Christian Association, as she was having an unhappy love affair with a man twice her age. The record stated that Ruth was a very attractive-looking girl, who seemed quite intelligent. For the past two years she had been a salesgirl at \$10 weekly, recently raised to \$12. She knew practically nothing about her mother, who died when she was a baby. Her father, who is a paralytic, mentally disturbed, lives in a neighboring seaside resort. Until three months before coming to the agency Ruth had lived with different relatives who were all Roman Catholics, while she was Lutheran. About six months before, she had met Thomas Kane, thirty-eight years old, a divorced man. After a brief acquaintance he promised to marry her on a certain date, but kept putting her off. Sometimes she spent the night with him at his home. There had never been anyone before who had really loved her, and she had counted greatly on having a home of her own, a thing she wanted more than anything else. In her disappointment she said that if she had the money she would go West. Worker suggested to Ruth that instead of going West, if the doctor thought advisable she might go away for convalescent care. She was therefore examined, and the doctor advised placing her in the country where she would be away from Mr. Kane and where she would not be allowed to talk constantly about herself and her troubles. She refused to go, however, and two days later wrote a letter to Mr. Kane which reveals graphically the nature of her relation to him and the effect that her fears and her emotional state had upon her health:

TOMMY:

I believed in you, I thought you were a man. I asked you hundreds of times if you were mine, and you would say yes nearly always. I tried to be good for you, but you would say you would go out with other women if I didn't

love you your way. I waited for you because you wanted me to, you never objected. I never blamed you for anything but for making me sick because I loved you only as a woman can love a man. I wanted to cook, serve, and help make you happy. I believed everything you promised me. Do you remember how happy we were together when we planned to have a home west. You told me you would always be good to me as long as I was a good girl. I was, I never once told you a lie or deceived you. I only loved you. I didn't tell any lies, Tommy, I didn't. I couldn't help if I fainted and looked sick. I suppose I just couldn't hide it if I wanted to. Nearly six months have passed and instead of helping me you are casting me aside when you know I am helpless. I hope someday Tommy if you are sorry you will tell me for I have been hurt so much it can never be healed.

RUTH

The effect of this attachment upon her health is indicated by the following report of the neurological examination:

Weakness of all muscles, coarse tremor, and dilated pupils, but no evidence of any organic disease. Mentally, she is depressed, feels that she cannot live without Mr. Kane, whom she loves more than anything else in the world. In the next sentence, however, she expressed a desire to go West, to live in the country, and to start everything over again.

In view of her attitude of indecision and her almost frenzied attachment to the man, there seem to be only two alternatives: either for them to be married, which in view of their quarrels would hardly seem likely to be a success, or for one or the other to go away, entirely disregarding the existence of the other. We do not feel that we can do more for her at the present time than to urge strongly an immediate breaking off and that she go to a convalescent home for a period of rest. However, this will call for co-operation on her part and his; if this is lacking there is nothing more to be done apparently.

Ruth was persuaded to go to a convalescent home. The Superintendent telephoned after she had been there an hour that she had been crying steadily and wanted to leave. Two days later she came into the office with Thomas Kane. He went with her to see a psychiatrist suggested by the agency, who told him that he should either leave Ruth entirely alone or marry her. A month later he married her, gave up his position, and they went West.

CASE COMMENT

In this case a neurological examination was given and the psychiatrist's advice to the man was probably influential in bringing about the marriage. Nothing, however, was done to develop other interests for the girl.

GROUP C CASE

Esther Rosenblum, aged sixteen, was referred to the girls' agency while in the state training school for girls. It was hoped that if the agency's workers became acquainted with Esther while she was in the school they would be able to help her make better adjustments when she left, and that they might also be able to improve conditions in her home before she returned to it. She had originally been referred by her mother to the court for incorrigibility. This consisted of refusing to work and keeping late hours. Besides Esther there were in the family a son, aged eighteen, six children attending school, two younger children, one three years and one six months old, at home. The father, a tailor, was having pecuniary troubles. The mother did not seem intelligent, was worn out physically, and the home and children were dirty.

Esther had left school at thirteen in the sixth grade to go to work. She had told the probation officer that she could not get along with her father, who constantly quarreled with her and called her "bad names." She refused to work, as she never got anything out of it but had to give all her earnings to her father, who did not give her even clothes or spending money. She had been going with a very bad girl who was formerly on probation. Neither her probation officer nor her parents had been able to get Esther to work, and she finally told the probation officer that she wanted to be "put away," and that if she were not taken to the court immediately she would pick up a man on the street and be arrested. The probation officer then took her to court, and she was committed to the girls' training school. The report of the court psychiatrist states:

The girl is entirely self-willed, follows her instincts, has no conception of obedience or of any discipline. From her make-up it is not at all probable that she will improve outside of strict institutional care. Her best chance would seem to be a period of such discipline as she would get at the girls' reformatory.

Esther behaved well in the training school. Her father was constantly writing, asking for her discharge, as he said he could not support his family without her help; but Esther did not want to go home. She gave no trouble until she was paroled and placed at days' work with a nearby family. She then attempted to run away, but was caught and was returned to the institution, in the demoted division. She told the girls' worker that she did not want to return to her home, but would rather be placed with a family and be given an opportunity to go to school. However, when Esther's mother became ill, her father insisted that she

come home to help with the support of the family. She was brought into court and discharged. The judge did not allow the training-school representative to make any statement, and her mother later told the worker of the girls' agency that she did not want Esther to be discharged, but that her husband insisted upon it and had given money to politicians to have her released. A little over a month later Esther came to the parole officer in the railroad station and asked to be taken back to the training school. She complained bitterly about conditions in her home and said she knew she would get into trouble if she stayed there. She was taken to the court, where she told the judge the same story. The superintendent of the training school decided that it would be better to place Esther in a private family instead of returning her to the institution. A home was secured for Esther where she would help with the housework and go to night school. In less than a week her mother went with her and took her to the court, and she was allowed by the probation officer in charge to go home. Soon afterward she disappeared. For a year the girls' agency kept in touch with Esther's family, who claimed they did not know where she was, but later said that they had heard she had joined a vaudeville company, and on another occasion that she was in California.

CASE COMMENT

Lack of co-operation on the part of juvenile court officials (alleged to be due to political influence) made it impossible to carry out such plans as were made, and the good effects of correctional training were probably nullified.

GROUP D CASES

Thelma Henry, aged eleven, was referred to a children's agency by the juvenile court. Her mother had gone to the court because Thelma was disobedient. Neither the mother nor the stepfather could control her. The mother, who was neurotic, had been, as a child, placed in foster families by a New York child-placing agency and had been finally adopted. She had married Thelma's father when three months pregnant and lived with him only a few weeks. Thelma had been with foster grandparents until their death, when she was about seven. She was then placed in a foster home until her mother got a divorce and married her present husband, about six months before coming to the court. Thelma did not like her stepfather or her stepsister, who was four years younger than she. The court psychologist's report states that Thelma

is above normal for her age, is entirely undisciplined, refuses the slightest conformity to rules or laws, is determined to have her own way at all costs. She has never been taught obedience or consideration of others. She seems, however,

quite capable of developing into a normal person if properly treated. She should be taken from the inefficient care of her mother and placed in some school where she will get the teaching and strict discipline she needs.

The report of the agency's psychologist states:

Stanford Revision of the Binet test: The child's age is 11 years, 10 months; mental age, 14 years, 4 months. Basal year, 12. Upper limit, 16. I.Q., 128.2. Frank, intelligent child of unusual ability and rare beauty.

She was tried in four homes before a satisfactory adjustment was made. She has been in her present home for over two years. She visits her mother, but there is still friction between her and her family. She is very fond of her foster parents. She is encouraged to bring her friends to her home, has joined the church, and has plenty of recreation, skating and dancing. She is doing well in school and hopes to go to high school and college.

CASE COMMENT

A foster home carefully selected for this girl provided the understanding and training needed.

Fannie Strong is another girl to whom for years understanding treatment was carefully and patiently carried out.

Fannie Strong had been known to the agency between the ages of eight and seventeen. She was committed to them by the juvenile court when her foster mother was brought into court as an inmate of a house of ill-fame. Nothing was known about Fannie's parentage. The foster mother's brother said that she had bought Fannie from another prostitute when she was a baby for \$75 and had kept her in the vice district.

For some time after Fannie's commitment to the agency it was necessary to keep her under very close medical supervision. An early health examination showed a positive Wassermann, but with careful medical care her syphilitic condition became inactive. During the first years the agency had difficulty in finding a suitable home for Fannie; she stole, and her conduct was such that she had to be changed from one home to another. Finally she was sent to a special school which was for both boys and girls, situated in a small town about fifteen miles from Philadelphia, and where she stayed three years. The children in the school, which is now out of existence, spend a great deal of time out of doors, led a simple and wholesome life, and were given much intensive personal instruction.

Fannie's behavior here improved so that after she left at the age of thirteen she fitted into her later placements with no difficulty. When

she was fifteen the psychologist who examined her stated that she was of "superior mentality" and should have college and professional training. At seventeen she graduated with honors from high school.

During her Senior year Fannie and a young man, George Reuter, nineteen years of age and of good family, whom she had met at several parties, fell in love. Their marriage took place immediately after Fannie's graduation from high school, and their first baby was born the following August. The young people, therefore, had a serious responsibility placed upon them soon after marriage, and George's income was small.

In response to a letter asking for developments three years later, the following reply was received from the executive of the society in whose charge she had been:

The girl is no longer in the legal custody of the—— Society, though the visitor who was close to her during the difficult period still keeps in regular touch with her. She has moved to a new house, so that her quarters are now adequate. Her husband's income is almost double that which it was when they first married, and he is attending the law school at City College regularly. The pediatricist who sees most of our babies also sees Fannie's babies (a son was born less than two years after the first child, a daughter) at regular intervals and has remarked again and again upon the intelligent care which she bestows upon them. Her relationship with her husband is very satisfactory, and that with the members of her husband's family becomes more and more sound. Far from blaming her or feeling that she has checked her husband's development, they now believe that she has been a real impetus to it. They are very devoted to her children and often care for them so that she may have a day or an evening of relaxation.

Another letter from the society says:

Fannie is a splendid mother who reaches out for the newest and best thought on child care in the effort to rear her babies well.

CASE COMMENT

This girl's needs were studied from every angle and for years understanding treatment was carefully and patiently carried out.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As the result of this study, comprising as it does the reading of records and the holding of conferences with the social workers of Philadelphia, the following recommendations for the development of an adequate program of care for girls in that city have been formulated:

1. The organization of an adequately financed, well-equipped, non-sectarian girls' case working agency with representatives on its board of directors of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant faiths. The services of this agency should be available for all girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. It should be concerned not only with individual work with girls, but with the improving of community conditions which adversely affect young girls. A Big Sister branch should be maintained to recruit and supervise volunteer workers.

2. The extension of existing child guidance, psychological, and psychiatric clinical facilities. Such child-study clinics should help the girls' agency to function most effectively.

3. Provision for a small number of carefully selected supervised private homes where unadjusted girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one may board.

4. The readjustment of one, or consolidation of two or more, of the existing institutions which care for girls to provide an experimental school furnishing special physical care and exercise and vocational, academic, home-making, and cultural training for girls of boarding-school age.

5. More satisfactory provision, both for case work facilities and institutional care, for the treatment of unmarried Negro mothers.

6. The provision of scholarships for special girls for whom continued schooling seems especially needed, and eventually the enlargement of public facilities to provide education and training for all those who would profit by it.

7. An increase in the number of school counselors (at present administered through the White-Williams Foundation) and attendance officers and the development of the vocational guidance service so that the best principles of social case work may be applied to the largest numbers at a time when these principles can be most effective.

8. A policewoman's bureau, under the supervision of an educated and professionally trained woman, in the Philadelphia police department to provide the necessary community protection for girls.

9. Civil service or other employment safeguards in the Philadelphia municipal court to insure qualified probation officers, and a resultant greater confidence and reliance in the probation department on the part of the judges and of social workers.

10. Adequate appropriations for the mothers' assistance fund, the removal of dependency cases from the juvenile court, and the extension of the state's supervision over agencies and institutions caring for dependent children.

11. The development of the state system for institutional care of such delinquent girls as absolutely require commitment and the extension of the state's facilities for the care and supervision of mental defectives, thus making possible an effective classification of the different types of offenders. Provision for parole care should also be extended.

12. The extension of the state's program for the protection of children in industry and the enforcement of the child labor laws.

13. A study of recreational needs and a systematic effort to make available opportunities for wholesome, interesting recreation in every neighborhood in Philadelphia.

14. Frequent studies or examinations to ascertain the extent of delinquency among girls, the conditions affecting their behavior, the methods of treating them, and developments or modifications of existing programs.

The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce has recently prepared a picture of the Philadelphia of the future—a city of wide streets, beautiful parks, and magnificent business blocks where none of the bad housing conditions and the wretched surroundings existing today would be found. But what of the men and women, the boys and girls to inhabit this beautiful city? They are after all an essential part of that picture; and to be complete, city planning must include those measures which help to keep its children as clean and beautiful in body and spirit as are the material symbols of human progress.

HENRIETTA ADDITON

THE BIG SISTER ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA
AND BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THE SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: SOME RECENT FINDINGS¹

PROFESSIONAL education for social work in America may be said to begin with the organization of the New York School of Philanthropy by the New York Charity Organization Society, in 1898, by which organization it is still controlled, under the present name of the New York School of Social Work.

In the fall of 1904 the first *full-time* school was established by joint action of Simmons College and Harvard University. Formal

¹ The data upon which this article is based have been furnished by one of the educational foundations (which requests that it be not given credit by name), supplemented by material provided by Dr. Walter Pettit. The schools included in the survey are listed below. The data were gathered in 1924-25, but were resubmitted to the schools for correction in 1926. About half of the schools, however, failed to revise the material at this later date. The asterisk indicates membership in the American Association of Professional Schools of Social Work on May 1, 1928.

1. Atlanta School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia.
2. Boston University, School of Religious Education and Social Service.
- *3. Bryn Mawr College, Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.
- *4. Carnegie Institute of Technology, Margaret Morrison College Department of Social Work, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
5. Dallas Institute for Social Education, Dallas, Texas.
6. Fordham University, School of Social Service, 2866 Woolworth Building, New York.
7. George Washington University, Courses for Social Service Workers, Washington, D.C.
8. Harvard University, Department of Social Ethics.
- *9. Johns Hopkins University, Courses in Social Economics, Department of Political Economy, Baltimore.
10. Loyola College, School of Sociology and Social Service, Montreal.
- *11. Loyola University, School of Sociology, 617 Ashland Block, Chicago.
- *12. McGill University, School of Social Workers, Montreal.
- *13. National Catholic Service School for Women, Washington, D.C.
- *14. New York School of Social Work, 105 East 22d Street.
- *15. Ohio State University, Social Administration, College of Commerce and Journalism, Columbus.
- *16. Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, Philadelphia.
17. Rice Institute, Courses in Philanthropy, Houston, Texas.

[Footnote continued on next page]

connection with Harvard ceased in 1916, since which time it has been known as the Simmons College School of Social Work.

During the next ten years five other schools were established. All the others have come into existence during the past twelve years. The rapidity of growth is indicated by the fact that four were established in 1918, five in 1919, four in 1920, and four in 1923. The first exclusively graduate school or department of social work was established at Bryn Mawr in 1915.

There are at present a total of thirty-nine schools listed as institutions giving training for social work in the United States and Canada, thirty-two of which are less than fourteen years old, and thirteen of which are less than eight years old. This mushroom-like expansion is largely responsible for the lack of uniformity and di-

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- *18. Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, College of William and Mary, Richmond, Virginia.
 - *19. Simmons College, School of Social Work, 18 Somerset Street, Boston.
 - *20. Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Massachusetts.
 - 21. Training School for Jewish Social Work, 210 West 91st Street, New York City.
 - *22. Tulane University, School of Social Work, New Orleans.
 - 23. University of California, Training for Social Work, Department of Economics, Berkeley.
 - *24. University of Chicago, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
 - *25. University of Cincinnati, Program of Education for School Work, Department of Sociology.
 - *26. University of Indiana, Department of Social Service, Bloomington.
 - 27. University of Louisville, School of Social Work and Occupational Therapy.
 - *28. University of Michigan, Curriculum in Social Work, Ann Arbor.
 - *29. University of Minnesota, Training Course for Social and Civic Work, Department of Sociology, Minneapolis.
 - *30. University of Missouri, Social Service Curriculum in School of Business and Public Administration, Columbia.
 - *31. University of North Carolina, School of Public Welfare, Chapel Hill.
 - 32. University of Oklahoma, School of Social Service, Norman.
 - *33. University of Oregon, Portland School of Social Work.
 - *34. University of Southern California, School of Social Welfare, Los Angeles.
 - *35. University of Toronto, Department of Social Service.
 - 36. University of Washington, Department of Sociology, Seattle.
 - *37. University of Wisconsin, Department of Economics, Course in Social Work, Madison.
 - 38. Washington University, Department of Sociology, St. Louis.
 - *39. Western Reserve University, School of Applied Social Sciences, Cleveland.

vergence in type, methods, and standards which will be indicated in the following pages.

These schools have originated for the most part either under the auspices of social agencies themselves, to meet their immediate training problems, or under the auspices of already established educational institutions, as an extension of their provisions for professional training. For many years there was a very decided conflict between the points of view of the two groups, the social agencies regarding the college schools as academic and impractical, and the colleges regarding the agency schools as underrating theory and principle, and being sufficiently satisfied with mere rule-of-thumb tricks of the trade. Probably both were too largely right in the beginning. A most encouraging "getting together" has since developed.

At the present time only seven of the schools operate as separate institutions, the other thirty-two being an integral part of colleges and universities. A number of these thirty-two originated as independent schools, later merging with a larger institution. The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, now the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, is an outstanding example, for although this School originated in 1901 as a part of the Extension Division of the University, it was independent during the period from 1905 to 1920. In the growth of university affiliations the schools of social work have merely followed the trend of development already found wise and expedient by schools of law, medicine, and other professions.

FACULTIES OF THE SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

For the most part the several faculties are composed of people on part-time appointments, whose principal responsibility is to some regular college department on the one hand, or to some social service agency on the other.

That such persons were available for a part-time relation is the only thing that has made many of the schools possible so far. But the disadvantages of such a plan are apparent: (1) Persons whose major interests are elsewhere cannot give the time, the energy, the thought, the devotion to the social-work course when it is necessarily

secondary; and (2) a faculty of such persons lacks the *esprit de corps* and the centralization of interest and attention which are so very essential to best results.

It is impossible to make any fair numerical comparison of faculty strength from the reports made, since most of the members are in a part-time relation, without the *amount* of that relation being indicated. The numbers of instructors and supervisors actually reported vary from one to seventy-two. In several cases anyone who teaches even one course that is accredited toward the social-work certificate is listed as a member of the social-work faculty.

The academic standing of the faculties of the schools of social work, in so far as it is indicated by the degrees reported, does not quite come up to that of college faculties in general, although this is partly offset by the fact that a number of the instructors are people holding professional certificates of graduation from schools of social work. A canvass shows that thirty-four of the schools have one or more Ph.D.'s upon their faculties; thirteen have teachers with the M.D. degree; thirty-two schools have instructors with Master's degrees upon their staff; and there are thirteen who have teachers holding no degree at all.

STUDENT BODIES AND STANDARDS OF ADMISSION

Comparison of the student bodies is extremely difficult because some schools give no information and others include without differentiation their "special" students and "extension" students, and in at least two or three cases the entire enrolment of the department of sociology is included, indicating a confusion still regrettably current in some quarters, to the effect that sociology and social work are synonymous. So far as the reports go, the student bodies range in number from fourteen in one instance (eight of which are full-time) to 400 "regular" and 319 "extension" students (New York School of Social Work). Only nine schools report as many as 100, and at least four of these include extension students or undergraduate students taking a social-work course or two. So far as numbers are concerned, it is evident that enrolments are still limited.

Still more important is the difference reported in scholastic re-

quirements for admission. This will appear in the following tabulation of *minimum* educational prerequisites for entrance:

Entrance Requirements	Number of Schools
No prerequisites.....	2
High-school diploma only.....	13
Two years of college work.....	5
Three years of college work.....	3
Four years of college work.....	10
	—
Total.....	33
Information lacking or not clear.....	6
	—
Total.....	39

Even the preceding statement is not wholly clear, for several schools operate upon a dual basis, admitting high-school graduates on one basis, or to one curriculum, and admitting college graduates on another. As nearly as is decipherable from the reports, which are ambiguous at this point, there are thirteen schools where one may enter upon the social-work course as a college Freshman. In at least five cases students enrol for the course in the Junior year of college. Although ten report a Bachelor's degree as prerequisite, only two, possibly three, seem to be operating upon a complete graduate basis, actually requiring a college degree before a student may be admitted as a candidate for the diploma. Seventeen state that the college degree is required for certain departments of their work, although most of these will permit students with less education to enter certain courses. With the exception of Bryn Mawr, all seem to have the usual provision whereby mature persons may enter as special students without qualifying for the diploma. Seven report having college graduates enrolled.

While all this is confusing, it is probably not more so than has been the case in schools of law, medicine, or theology, which show the same variation. In these other professions, however, there is a definite trend in the direction of requiring the Bachelor's degree antecedent to entering the professional course; or at least to secure it en route. There are as many reasons for social work to take the same position as for these other professions to do so.

CERTIFICATES, DIPLOMAS, AND DEGREES

There is much confusion in the matter of requirements for certificates, diplomas, and degrees. There are twelve schools which offer a one-year course. There are thirteen that offer a two-year course. While there are ten schools that list a four-year course and seven that list a five-year course, in all seventeen cases these courses include undergraduate liberal arts work, usually leading to the Bachelor's degree.

The type of diploma granted differs according to (1) the length of the course, (2) the relation of the course to undergraduate or graduate work, or (3) the character of the curriculum, as to whether it is "purely professional" or not. (An important distinction should be made between genuinely "graduate" courses and those courses which are open only to college graduates, though the work itself may be technical in character rather than graduate. A course cannot be properly designated as "graduate" unless it is more *advanced* than undergraduate work and is pursued by graduate-school methods.)

As to diplomas granted, there are twelve schools which offer a graduate degree; thirteen offer an undergraduate degree; twenty-three offer a professional certificate or diploma without degree. Some offer both degrees and certificates. (Only one, Dallas, offers no diploma of any kind.) The number awarded during 1925 and 1926 is as follows:

SOCIAL-WORK DIPLOMAS AWARDED BY THE THIRTY-NINE
SCHOOLS DURING 1925 AND 1926*

	1925	1926
Certificates or diplomas not conferring degrees	184	78
Undergraduate degrees	79	64
Graduate degrees	61 (including 2 Ph.D.'s)	17
Degrees (graduate and undergraduate not differentiated)	30	.....
Totals	354	159

* Although the figures given above are those reported by the schools themselves, examination reveals that a number of them include diplomas awarded to persons majoring in sociology, who have not actually completed a full technical course in social work. These were not differentiated in some of the reports.

A great disadvantage is at once apparent in the fact that the possession of a diploma from a school does not sufficiently indicate the nature or extent of the work for which it was awarded. The degrees, for example, are the A.B. and B.S. or corresponding graduate degrees, and do not usually indicate the professional character of the course completed, as does an M.D., LL.B., B.D., J.D., etc. On the other hand, the professional certificate may stand for anything from a one year's professional course, with only a high-school foundation, up to a two years' course which has followed a full four years' college course. It is important that we shall soon begin to standardize and define our certification.

DEPARTMENTS, DIVISIONS, AND SPECIALIZATIONS OF WORK

As to departments and specialized divisions of work, there is again great variety. One or two of the stronger schools have taken the position that lines of demarcation between fields of work are as yet too nebulous to justify departmentalized curricula. Others, equally strong, insist that departmentalization is necessary to specialization. Eight schools indicate that they have no professional divisions. The others specify provision for training in twelve fields of work as follows:

Fields of Work	Number of Schools
Case work.....	22
Group and community work.....	22
Child welfare.....	13
Medical social work.....	6
Nursing and health (including psychiatric work)....	10
Social research (including industrial research).....	9
Industrial work.....	8
Criminology, delinquency, and correction.....	5
Recreation and physical education.....	4
General administration.....	4
Rural social work.....	2

Just as medicine was for many years content to prepare its novitiates to be general practitioners, but of recent years has so developed that many physicians are particularizing in a special field, so social work is just beginning to reach the second stage. It seems too early to be sure just what the logical main divisions will be; but

certainly case work and group work may be regarded as reasonably assured. Clear thinking and much job analysis are needed as to the others, some of which we strongly suspect involve merely the application of case-work and group-work techniques to special situations.

CURRICULA

One cannot read the reports of the various schools without being impressed with the wealth of courses now available as contrasted with ten to fifteen years ago. Indeed, their very extent constitutes in itself an embarrassment of riches. Also, at no other point has the lack of uniformity been more apparent.

Three distinct types of curricula are found:

1. Those composed almost wholly of technical and problem "social work" courses, in which little is offered of general background or pre-professional studies.

2. Those composed almost entirely of "cultural" courses, from the social sciences, with a minimum of technology and social-work emphasis. (It must be frankly stated that some of the "schools" hardly seem to merit the title of "professional" at all. They give the appearance of a mere agglomeration of courses selected from the liberal-arts catalogue. There is little external evidence of their being really co-ordinated into a social-work program, or focused upon the field of social-service work. To be truly professional, the courses in technology must be central, and the other courses be made tributary to them.)

3. Those which really combine the two into a co-ordinated scheme, in which there are definite technological courses and field practice, these being preceded or accompanied by pre-professional and background courses which give a foundation of theory and relate the work to human society in general.

The third of these seems to be taking definite precedence. This, again, is to be expected in the light of the development of professional schools in general.

The nature of these "background" or pre-professional courses varies widely. The departments from which they are most frequently taken are: sociology, economics, political science, psychology,

and ethics. Others are hygiene, household economics, dietetics, and education.

Field work and practice, usually in connection with local social-service agencies, is now ordinarily a required part of the curriculum. The amount and the degree of supervision widely varies. On the one hand it seems to be limited to such work as may be assigned in connection with the classroom courses. On the other hand there are two or three schools where the field work is roughly comparable to a hospital internship, consisting of as much as a year's full-time work in actual service, during which time no classroom courses are taken at all. Where the two are carried together it ranges in amount from three or four field hours per week up to twenty-five or thirty hours, the periods varying from one to four semesters.

In some cases there is apparently no supervision other than the teacher's classroom instruction. In others, the supervision is confined to that given by the agency to which the student is related, there being little correlation between the school and the field. In two or three cases there is a regular full-time field supervisor on the staff of the school, whose main function is the educational one of directing the field practice and correlating it with the actual classroom courses.

In a word, we may say that up to the present time there is no agreement among the schools as to: (1) the content of the class work curricula, (2) the content of the field work, (3) the amount of the class work, (4) the amount of the field work, (5) the relative proportion of class and field work, (6) the nature and extent of field supervision.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A comparison of the several schools on the basis of data now available is most difficult. Although they have attempted to give replies on the same general points, they have used such a varying terminology and have taken their figures from such divergent bases that they are often incomparable. Lack of adequate and complete information has increased the difficulty. Nevertheless there is more material for comparison in their replies than has been previously

available; and in spite of the difficulties certain points seem to stand out.

A. POINTS OF LIKENESS

1. The tendency for education for social work to be related to colleges and universities is quite clear. Of the thirty-nine schools, thirty-two are so related, and only seven are operating independently, and in several of these latter there is a definite working relation with some institution of higher education. All this is quite consistent with trends found in other professional schools. Its advantages are obvious: (a) it reduces overhead expense; (b) it simplifies the teaching problem; (c) it provides a better balance between theory and practice; (d) it tends to elevate the standards of professional instruction; (e) it gives the prestige of the larger institution to the school of social work and dignifies its standing and the standing of its diploma.

2. Quite definitely the social-work curricula are tending to emphasize *both* theory and practice. It is no longer enough to teach the successful "tricks of the trade"; the underlying theory must be taught as well. And still more significant, there is an increasing tendency to base professional technique upon the basic principles found especially in psychology, economics, and sociology. Mere "apprenticeship training" is giving way to organized curricula, which are more and more in the hands of professional educators and not carried on as a side line by already overworked social-work administrators.

3. Nothing is clearer than the raising of standards for admission to education for the profession. It is a paradox and an inconsistency that while a good many people are still being taken into social-work *positions* who are deficient in educational background, these same educational deficiencies debar them from a number of *schools* for professional training. It is now generally accepted that one must be at least a high-school graduate before being admitted as a candidate for a diploma; and the tendency is to require even more educational preparation.

4. Case work is widely recognized as a central element in all social-work education, and the emphasis upon it seems to be increasing.

B. POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

There is yet, however, a wide range of difference and lack of uniformity upon a large number of points, some of the more important ones being along the following lines: (1) Entrance standards. (2) The point at which students shall enter social-work training: As Freshmen? As Juniors or Seniors? Or after finishing the college course? (3) The nature and content of academic courses. (4) The nature and content of field work. (5) The proportion of class and field work. (6) The relation of both class and field work to the "cultural" curricula of the colleges. (7) The length of a professional course. (8) The nature and degree of specialization within the field of social work itself. (9) The nature of the diploma or certification granted upon completion of course.

The confusion and discrepancies herein noted make quite clear the necessity for further "getting together" among the schools themselves. Standardization is highly important and is a step which should begin to be undertaken in the near future. This standardization, however, must not be at the risk of stifling the variety of interesting and diverse experiments now going on. It is altogether probable that out of the present diversity there will gradually emerge a recognition of the superiority of certain features, and that by elimination and survival on the basis of trial and error we shall arrive at a sound foundation for greater uniformity.

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UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

SOURCE MATERIALS

A PHYSICIAN PHILANTHROPIST IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BENJAMIN RUSH, 1745-1813

EDITORIAL NOTE¹

BENJAMIN RUSH was perhaps the leading American philanthropist of the eighteenth century. He was a great physician and was called "The American Sydenham" and the "Father of Experimental Medicine"; but, like many of the distinguished members of his profession, he was also a great citizen. He served from 1761 to 1766 as a medical student and apprentice in one of the early Philadelphia doctor's "shops" and then went to Edinburgh for two years of further study, and later to the hospital of St. Thomas in London for additional experience. Immediately upon his return home in 1769, he became identified with the movement for medical education through appointment to the faculty of the College of

¹An adequate bibliography of the writings and life of Benjamin Rush would occupy several pages, and the following list contains only selected references which are of special interest to the social worker. The most conveniently available biography is Harry G. Good, *Benjamin Rush and His Services to American Education* (1918); but Rush's autobiography, *A Memorial Containing Travels through Life or Sundry Incidents in the Life of Dr. Benjamin Rush; Written by Himself*, edited by Louis Alexander Biddle (1905), is extremely interesting. See, also, David Ramsay, *An Eulogium upon Benjamin Rush, M.D.* (1813); John Graver Johnson, *A Criticism of Mr. William B. Reed's Aspersions on the Character of Dr. Benjamin Rush* (1867); Thomas D. Mitchell, *The Character of Rush* (1848); William Pepper, *Benjamin Rush* (1890); Benjamin Rush, *Report of an Action for Libel, Brought by Dr. Benjamin Rush against William Cobbett in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania* (1800). Among his own writings, in addition to those listed in footnotes to the Documents on pp. 282 and 295, are *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America, upon Slave-Keeping* (1773); *Considerations on the Injustice and Impolicy of Punishing Murder by Death* (1792); *An Inquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals, and upon Society* (1787); *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (written in 1789) (Pennsylvania-German Society, 1910).

One of his biographers (Good, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96) says that "his numerous publications were for the most part intended and regarded as the means of advancing the various 'causes' in which he was interested." The titles "will show what these causes were.

Philadelphia, where the earliest medical school in the country was being established.

From the beginning he gave his services generously to the destitute. He recalled later in life that he had been much struck when a boy by reading that a celebrated physician had said that "the poor were his *best* patients because God was their paymaster." His natural disposition made this practice among the poor attractive to him, for he confessed to "a natural sympathy with distress of every kind." He wrote in his later years of this early period as follows:

From the time of my settlement in Philadelphia in 1769 until 1775 I led a life of constant labor and self denial. My shop was crowded with the poor in the morning and at meal times, and nearly every street and alley in the city was visited by me every day. There are few old huts now standing in the ancient parts of the city in which I have not attended sick people. Often have I ascended the upper story of these huts by a ladder, and many hundred times have I been obliged to rest my weary limbs upon the bedside of the sick, from the want of chairs, where I was sure I risked, not only taking their disease, but being infected by vermin. More than once did I suffer from the latter. Nor did I hasten from these abodes of poverty and misery. Where no other help was attainable, I have often remained in them long enough to administer my prescriptions, particularly bleeding with my own hands. I review these scenes with heartfelt pleasure. I believed at the time that they would not lose their reward. "Take care of him, and I will repay thee," were words which I have repeated a thousand times to myself in leaving the rooms of this class of sick people.¹

They will show that he was throughout life a lover of his kind; a friend of the poor, the distressed, the unfortunate and the criminal. He was one of the first champions of the slave; one of the founders and for many years an officer in the first abolition society in America. He was one of the earliest advocates of temperance. He had the vision, the wisdom and the courage to urge the reformation of the bibulous habits of his time. He rests from his labors in the shadow of a tree which is thus described in a tablet over his grave: 'On the 3rd of November, 1885, the officers and delegates of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union from forty states and numbering 300 by their representatives planted this oak tree in token of their reverence for the memory of Dr. Benjamin Rush, instaurator of the American temperance reform, one hundred years ago.' He labored early for penal reform, for the abolition of the death penalty, for humane treatment and enlightened care of the insane, for humanity in the handling of animals. And it is to be mentioned as bearing on the last subject that he urged the establishment of a school of veterinary medicine." For a portrait of Dr. Rush, see the frontispiece of this *Review*.

¹ From *A Memorial, etc.*, pp. 58-59.

In this early period he also showed his interest in public affairs in his *Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements upon Slave-Keeping*, in which he said he "endeavored to show the iniquity of the slave trade." He thought, however, that this pamphlet had injured his growing practice "by giving rise to an opinion that I had meddled in a controversy that was foreign to my business." He found, in his own words, "that a physician's studies and duties were to be limited by the public and that he was destined to walk in a path as contracted as the most humble mechanic."

Of the critical year 1775, he wrote: "I now resolved to bear my share of the distress and burdens of the approaching revolution." Later in the same year he was appointed surgeon for the fleet of gunboats constructed for the protection of Philadelphia. It was also in the same eventful year that he suggested to Thomas Paine the preparation of the pamphlet *Common Sense*.

In the summer of 1776 he was elected a member of the delegation from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress, and his name appears next to that of Franklin on the Declaration of Independence. In the following year he became surgeon general of the armies of the middle states and later physician general of the military hospitals. His career in these offices was a stormy one because of his hatred of the incompetency that he believed to be responsible for needless loss of life among the young soldiers of the Revolution. He wrote as follows of the conditions which confronted him:

The American army had suffered greatly in the campaign of 1776, from the want of system and perhaps of knowledge in the management of the medical department. I wished to introduce order and economy in our hospitals, and for this purpose recommended the system which time and experience had proved to be a good one in the British army. Its principal merit and advantage consisted in the directing and purveying business being independent of each other. In vain did I plead publicly and privately for the adoption of this system. Such was the temper of Congress at that time that its British origin helped to produce its rejection. The system established by Congress placed the directing or supreme medical power, and the purveyorship in the same hands. I reluctantly accepted the commission of physician general of the military hospitals under it, and entered upon my duty with a heart devoted to the interests of my country. The evils of the system soon developed themselves. A fatal hospital fever was generated in the month of May in 1777 in the house of employment by our sick being too much crowded. Several of the attending surgeons and mates died of it

and most of them were infected by it. I called upon the Director and asked for more rooms for the sick. This was denied. Here was the beginning of sufferings and mortality in the American army which had nearly destroyed it. A physician who practises in a hospital or elsewhere should have no check upon his prescriptions. Air, water, fire and everything necessary to the relief and cure of the sick should be made to obey him. The reverse of this was the case in the military hospitals of the United States. No order was given or executed for food, medicines, liquors, or even apartments for the sick without the consent of the Director General.¹

His further account of the situation and his indictment of Dr. Shippen, who, as director general, was his superior officer, must be quoted in full:

In April or May, 1777, I accepted of the appointment of physician-general of the military hospitals of the United States under the direction of Dr. Shippen. Here I saw scenes of distress touching to humanity, and disgraceful to a civilized country. I can never forget them. I still see the sons of our yeomanry brought up in the lap of plenty and domestic comforts, shivering with cold upon the bare floors without a blanket to cover them, calling for fire, for water, for suitable food, for medicines and calling in vain. I hear the complaints they utter against their country,—I hear their sighs for their fathers' firesides,—I hear their groans,—I see them expire. While hundreds of the flower of our youth were dying under such accumulated sufferings, Dr. Shippen was feasting with the general officers at the camp, or bargaining with tavern keepers in Jersey and Pennsylvania for the sale of Madeira wine from our hospital stores, bought for the use of the sick. Nor was this all. No officer was ever sent to command or preserve discipline in our hospital (a practice universal in European armies) in consequence of which our soldiers sold their blankets, muskets, and even clothing for the necessities of life or for ardent spirits. In this situation of our hospital I addressed two letters to General Washington, the one complaining of the above abuses and pointing out their remedies,—the other complaining of Dr. Shippen for mal-practices. I expected that a court would be ordered to inquire into Dr. Shippen's conduct in consequence of my second letter. In this I was disappointed. Both my letters were sent to Congress, and a committee appointed to hear my complaints against the Director-General. On my way to Yorktown where the Congress then sat, I passed through the Army at Valley Forge where I saw similar marks of filth, waste of public property and want of discipline which I had recently witnessed in the hospitals. General Sullivan (at whose quarters I breakfasted) said to me, "Sir, this is not an army, it is a mob." Here a new source of distress was awakened in my mind. I now felt for the safety and independence of my country as well as for the sufferings of the sick under my care. . . .

¹ *A Memorial, etc.*, pp. 99-100.

In the year 1779 Dr. Morgan dragged Dr. Shippen before a court-martial at Morristown where I was summoned as a witness. During the trial several members of the court-martial were changed,—a thing I believed never done in such courts, nor in juries except in cases of sickness or death. The Doctor was acquitted, but without honor, and by a majority of a single vote. Soon after this cold and bare acquittal he resigned. Gen. Washington gave him a certificate approving of his conduct while Director-General of the hospitals, and saying that the distresses of the sick arose from a state of things inseparable from the new and peculiar situation of our country.

The change which took place in the army by the appointment of Baron Steuben, Inspector General, Mr. Morris, Financier, and Colonel Hamilton, a member of General Washington's family, restored him to the universal confidence of his country. You may easily conceive the nature of this change when I add that Baron Steuben said the clothes destroyed by our army would clothe the largest army in Europe (previously to his appointment) and of course that an immense saving of money and health and lives was the consequence of the economy he introduced into the army in that article alone; also, that Mr. Morris informed me that the expenses of the hospital department alone after he took charge of the finances were reduced from five million to one million of dollars in one year, estimating the value of paper money in gold and silver coin in both years.¹

Dr. Rush was generous in his treatment of the enemies of the Revolution in spite of his ardent devotion to the cause of independence. He made repeated efforts to secure the release of a British officer who was ill and a prisoner of war, but without success. He then tried "to render his confinement as easy to him as possible until he was exchanged." As a result he was the object of attack in certain quarters for lack of patriotism and was charged with "always taking the part of Tory rascals."

After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British he returned to that city with his family. In his *Memorial* he writes, "From the filth left by the British army in all the streets the city became sickly, and I was suddenly engaged in extensive and profitable business."

His activity during the Revolution involved heavy financial sacrifices. He thought that the depreciation of paper money and the loss of business to which he exposed himself by taking part in the Revolution had cost him not less than £10,000. He was proud of

¹ This account is to be found in the Rush MSS of the Ridgway Library of Philadelphia, XXIX, 136. It is quoted in full in several publications including Good, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-60.

the fact that during the whole of the war he never charged an officer or soldier of the American army anything for medicines or attendance. Toward the close of his life, in writing of this subject, he said that he thought he had not been paid for more than one-fifth of the labor of his life.

Only the briefest account of the numerous philanthropic interests of Dr. Rush is possible here, but it must be mentioned that he was an early contributor to, and member of, the staff of the Pennsylvania Hospital; and, as the author of *Inquiries and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind*, he was called the "Father of American Psychiatry." He was the founder in 1786 of the Philadelphia Dispensary, apparently the earliest of our free dispensaries. He was active in the attempt to secure a hospital for the insane which should be separate from the Pennsylvania Hospital, which had cared both for the mentally and the physically ill. In his notebook¹ on March 1, 1792, he made the following entry:

Yesterday a vote passed the Lower House of Assembly to allot \$15,000 to build a mad-house. The idea of this building, etc. originated last winter in a conversation with Bartholomew Wister in the Hospital and the public mind was first awakened to it by a short publication I threw out in Dunlap's paper. I mention this to encourage my boys to expect great things from slender beginnings and weak instruments.

Before the Revolution he was already known as a young physician with an interest in reform movements. As early as 1774 he had been one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage (the first American antislavery society). After the war his interests broadened. He was opposed to capital punishment and wrote one of the earliest articles published in America which set out the reasons for its abolition.² He was a member of the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, and his notebook records a visit to the new jail (1794) with Caleb Lowmes, the Quaker prison-reformer; and in 1796 he complained that the jail is

¹ From *A Memorial, etc.*, p. 133.

² See this *Review*, I (December, 1927), 645, for quotation from this article, which was entitled "An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals and upon Society" and was first published in the *American Museum*.

"crowded with persons sent there for debt." He thought the "republican ferment" caused by the "revolution of republican principles" was responsible for new views of various social questions. He observed "a precipitation of the feculencies of error, upon the subject of education, penal laws and capital punishments." He published various essays upon each of these subjects, and in his autobiography we find this statement:

My opinions upon the latter subjects subjected me to some abuse and ridicule in the public newspapers. I met with but three persons in Philadelphia who agreed with me in denying the right of human laws over human life, when my publication against capital punishments first made its appearance, but in less than two years I had the satisfaction of observing that opinion to be adopted by many hundred people; more especially among the Society of Friends.

But I did not content myself by merely attacking old errors and prejudices from the press. I assisted in the institution of societies to carry them into effect. I was likewise for a while an active member of several societies whose objects were altogether of a humane nature.

The extract which we are publishing from his account of the yellow-fever epidemic gives a vivid picture of the services of Dr. Rush during that terrible period, and outlines the various controversies that separated him from some of the leading physicians of Philadelphia. When he became convinced that the fever was a disease of domestic origin, he insisted on stating publicly the reasons for his belief; but the College of Physicians went on record with a contrary report which said, "No instance has ever occurred of the disease called yellow fever having been generated in this city, or in any other parts of the United States, as far as we know: but there have been frequent instances of its having been imported."

Attacks upon his character in 1793 and the year following he attributed to the dislike of his opinions and the desire on the part of those who disagreed with him to lessen "the influence of a man who had aimed to destroy the credit of their city by ascribing to it a power of generating yellow fever." Of this hostility he wrote as follows:

Their design proved successful. They lessened my business, and they abstracted so much of the confidence of my patients as to render my practice extremely difficult and disagreeable among them. To put a stop to their injurious effects upon my business, and the lives of my patients, I commenced civil action.

From the year 1793 till 1797 my business was stationary in Philadelphia, after 1797 it sensibly declined. I had no new families except foreigners, added to the list of my patients and many of my old patients deserted me. Even the cures that I performed added to the detraction that had taken place against my character, when they were effected by remedies that were new and contrary to the feelings of citizens. No ties of ancient school fellowship, no obligations of gratitude, no sympathy in religious or philosophical opinions, were able to resist the tide of public clamor that was excited against my practice. My name was mentioned with horror in some companies, and to some of the weakest and insignificant of my brethren false tales of me became a recommendation to popular favor.¹

Rush was an early advocate of free education; and, what was even more remarkable, he believed that women as well as men should have educational opportunities. He published in 1786 *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and the Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania* and *Thoughts upon the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic*. In the following year he published *Thoughts upon Female Education*. In the same year he issued an *Address to the People of the United States* on the subject of education.

On March 20, 1792, he wrote in his "commonplace book" that he had witnessed a "day of triumph," in which "great good" had been accomplished. "This day," he wrote, "was spent in debating about the establishment of free schools in our legislature. I had great pleasure in living to see this event, for I had ten years ago and ever since inculcated the necessity and advantage of them from the press."

He was liberal in his attitude toward immigration; and at a time when even Benjamin Franklin had misgivings as to the effect of German immigration on Pennsylvania, Rush prepared a fine appreciation of his German fellow-citizens.²

The historian George Bancroft published, many years after the death of Rush, a discriminating estimate of his character and work. Bancroft knew that Rush made mistakes and that he had been overhasty in a quarrel with Washington, which the latter generously forgave. But Bancroft, weighing all the evidence with the caution of a historian, wrote of him as follows:

¹ From *A Memorial, etc.*, pp. 72-73.

² See E. Abbott, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem*, pp. 415-16, 544-45, and 422-24, for the views of Franklin and Rush on this subject.

On the second of August, 1776, Rush signed the Declaration of Independence, and kept with truth and firmness the pledge which he then gave of life, fortune, and sacred honor. . . . I once had in my custody fragments of diaries and auto-biographical sketches of Rush, written at various periods of his life, as well as two bound volumes of his most private correspondence, so that I was able to study his character thoroughly. He did not deny his faults, but claimed to "aim well." The key to his character is, that he was of an impatient and impulsive nature, fond of quick decision and quick action, and in consequence capable, under sudden excitement, of writing in terms of extravagance, or judging character, for the moment, unfairly. As a physician he inclined to powerful remedies and the free use of the lancet, and in public life he was eager for drastic measures, so that he sometimes fell into controversy with men of a calmer temperament than his own. But the tone of his own opinions is always the same. From his early life to his old age, his patriotism could not be doubted, and whenever a question regarding freedom arose he was sure to take the side of freedom. As he was one of the first to speak for independence, he was one of the first, publicly as well as privately, to speak for the abolition of slavery, and to treat the colored people as fellow-men and fellow-citizens; and to his last breath he was devoted to those principles of Jefferson which were humane and liberal. The profession of medicine, no less than that of war, has its bead-roll of heroes who have defied death in the discharge of duty. When an infectious pestilence, raging in Philadelphia, rapidly swept nearly four thousand to the grave, Rush despised every consideration of personal safety, and was so true day and night to his patients that it was said of him in Europe: "Not Philadelphia alone but mankind should raise to him a statue."¹

A Physician in the Epidemic of 1793²

The first reports of the existence of this fever were treated with neglect or contempt. A strange apathy pervaded all classes of people. While I bore my share of reproach for "terrifying our citizens with imaginary danger," I answered it by lamenting "that they were not terrified enough." The publication from the college of physicians soon dissipated this indifference and incredulity. Fear or terror now sat upon every countenance. The disease appeared in many parts of the town, remote from the spot

¹ George Bancroft, *Joseph Reed: A Historical Essay* (New York, 1867), pp. 31-32.

² Extract from Benjamin Rush, "An Account of the Bilious Remitting Yellow Fever, as It Appeared in Philadelphia in the Year 1793," *Medical Inquiries and Observations* (4th ed.; Philadelphia, 1815), III, 93-101, 181-93.

Good (*op. cit.*, p. 86) notes that Dr. Trotter said his "account" was the best history of an epidemic that had ever been written. It was translated into three languages. "As a mark of respect for his medical character and writings, especially his record of the yellow fever, both the King of Prussia and the Queen of Etruria presented him with

where it originated; although, for a while, in every instance, it was easily traced to it. This set the city in motion. The streets and roads leading from the city were crowded with families flying in every direction for safety to the country. Business began to languish. Water-street, between Market and Race-streets, became a desert.

The poor were the first victims of the fever. From the sudden interruption of business they suffered for a while from poverty as well as from disease. A large and airy house at Bush-hill, about a mile from the city was opened for their reception. This house, after it became the charge of a committee appointed by the citizens on the 14th of September, was regulated and governed with the order and cleanliness of an old and established hospital. An American and French physician had the exclusive medical care of it after the 22d of September.

The disease, after the second week in September, spared no rank of citizens. Whole families were confined by it. There was a deficiency of nurses for the sick, and many of those who were employed were unqualified for their business. There was likewise a great deficiency of physicians, from the desertion of some, and the sickness and death of others. At one time there were but three physicians who were able to do business out of their houses, and at this time there were probably not less than 6,000 persons ill with the fever.

During the first three or four weeks of the prevalence of the disease I seldom went into a house the first time without meeting the parents or children of the sick in tears. Many wept aloud in my entry or parlour, who came to ask for advice for their relations. Grief after a while descended below weeping, and I was much struck in observing that many persons submitted to the loss of relations and friends without shedding a tear, or manifesting any other of the common signs of grief.

A cheerful countenance was scarcely to be seen in the city for six weeks. I recollected once, in entering the house of a poor man, to have met a child of two years old that smiled in my face. I was strangely affected with this sight (so discordant to my feelings and the state of the city) before I recollected the age and ignorance of the child. I was con-

medals, the latter of gold; and the Czar of Russia sent him a costly diamond. Two medals, dated 1808, were also struck in his honor at the U.S. Mint in Philadelphia." His other writings on the yellow fever include *An Inquiry into the Origin of the Late Epidemic Fever in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1793; pp. 15); *Observations upon the Origin of Malignant Bilious, or Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, and upon the Means of Preventing It; Addressed to the Citizens of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1799; pp. 28); *A Second Address to the Citizens of Philadelphia Containing Additional Proofs of the Domestic Origin of the Malignant Bilious, or Yellow Fever* (Philadelphia, 1799; pp. 40).

fined the next day by an attack of the fever, and was sorry to hear, upon my recovery, that the father and mother of this little creature died a few days after my last visit to them.

The streets everywhere discovered marks of the distress that pervaded the city. More than one half the houses were shut up, although not more than one third of the inhabitants had fled into the country. In walking for many hundred yards, few persons were met, except such as were in quest of a physician, a nurse, a bleeder, or the men who buried the dead. The hearse alone kept up the remembrance of the noise of carriages or carts in the streets. Funeral processions were laid aside. A black man, leading or driving a horse, with a corpse on a pair of chair wheels, with now and then half a dozen relations or friends following at a distance from it, met the eye in most of the streets of the city, at every hour of the day, while the noise of the same wheels passing slowly over the pavements, kept alive anguish and fear in the sick and well, every hour of the night.

But a more serious source of the distress of the city arose from the dissensions of the physicians, about the nature and treatment of the fever. It was considered by some as a modification of the influenza, and by others as the jail fever. Its various grades and symptoms were considered as so many different diseases, all originating from different causes. There was the same contrariety in the practice of the physicians that there was in their principles. The newspapers conveyed accounts of both to the public, every day. The minds of the citizens were distracted by them, and hundreds suffered and died from the delays which were produced by an erroneous opinion of a plurality of diseases in the city, or by indecision in the choice, or a want of confidence in the remedies of their physician.

The science of medicine is related to everything, and the philosopher as well as the Christian will be gratified by knowing the effects of a great and mortal epidemic upon the morals of a people. It was some alleviation of the distress produced by it, to observe its influence upon the obligations of morality and religion. It was remarked during this time, by many people, that the name of the Supreme Being was seldom profaned, either in the streets, or in the intercourse of the citizens with each other. But two robberies, and those of a trifling nature, occurred in nearly two months, although many hundred houses were exposed to plunder, every hour of the day and night. Many of the religious societies met two or three times a week, and some of them every evening, to implore the interposition of Heaven to save the city from desolation. Humanity and charity kept pace with devotion. The public have already seen accounts of their benevolent exercises in other publications. It was my lot to wit-

ness the uncommon activity of those virtues upon a smaller scale. I saw little to blame, but much to admire and praise in persons of different professions, both sexes, and of all colours. It would be foreign to the design of this work to draw from the obscurity which they sought, the many acts of humanity and charity, of fortitude, patience, and perseverance, which came under my notice. They will be made public and applauded elsewhere.

But the virtues which were excited by our calamity were not confined to the city of Philadelphia. The United States wept for the distresses of their capital. In several of the states, and in many cities and villages, days of humiliation and prayer were set apart to supplicate the Father of Mercies in behalf of our afflicted city. Nor was this all. From nearly every state in the union the most liberal contributions of money, provisions, and fuel were poured in for the relief and support of such as had been reduced to want by the suspension of business, as well as by sickness and the death of friends.

The number of deaths between the 1st of August and the 9th of November amounted to four thousand and forty-four. . . . Several of the deaths in August were from other acute diseases, and a few in the succeeding months were from such as were of a chronic nature. . . . The principal mortality was in the second week of October. A general expectation had obtained, that cold weather was as fatal to this fever as heavy rains. The usual time for its arrival had come, but the weather was still not only moderate, but warm. In this awful situation, the stoutest hearts began to fail. Hope sickened, and despair succeeded distress in almost every countenance. On the fifteenth of October, it pleased God to alter the state of the air. The clouds at last dropped health in showers of rain, which continued during the whole day, and which were succeeded for nights afterwards by cold and frost. The effects of this change in the weather appeared first in the sudden diminution of the sick, for the deaths continued for a week afterwards to be numerous, but they were of persons who had been confined before, or on the day in which the change had taken place in the weather.

The appearance of this rain was like a dove with an olive branch in its mouth to the whole city. Public notice was given of its beneficial effects, in a letter subscribed by the mayor of Philadelphia, who acted as president of the committee, to the mayor of New York. I shall insert the whole of this letter. It contains, besides the above information, a record of the liberality of the city to the distressed inhabitants of Philadelphia.

SIR,

I am favoured with your letter of the 12th instant, which I have communicated to the committee for the relief of the poor and afflicted of this city.

It is with peculiar satisfaction that I execute their request, by making in their name, on behalf of our suffering fellow-citizens, the most grateful acknowledgments for the seasonable benevolence of the common council of the city of New York. Their sympathy is balm to our wounds.

We acknowledge the Divine interposition, whereby the hearts of so many around us have been touched with our distress, and have united in our relief.

May the Almighty Disposer of all events be graciously pleased to protect your citizens from the dreadful calamity with which we are now visited; whilst we humbly kiss the rod, and improve by the dispensation.

The part, sir, which you personally take in our afflictions, and which you have so pathetically expressed in your letter, excites in the breasts of the committee the warmest sensations of fraternal affection.

The refreshing rain which fell the day before yesterday, though light, and the cool weather which hath succeeded, appear to have given a check to the prevalence of the disorder: of this we have satisfactory proofs, as well in the decrease of the funerals, as in the applications for removal to the hospital.

I have, at your request, this day drawn upon you, at sight, in favour of the president and directors of the Bank of North America, for the sum of five thousand dollars, the benevolent donations of the common council of the city of New York.

With sentiments of the greatest esteem and regard,

I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MATTH. CLARKSON

. . . . From the 15th of October the disease not only declined, but assumed more obvious inflammatory symptoms. It was, as in the beginning, more necessarily fatal where left to itself, but it yielded more certainly to art than it did a few weeks before. The duration of it was now more tedious than in the warm weather.

There were a few cases of yellow fever in November and December, after the citizens who had retired to the country returned to the city.

I heard of but three persons who returned to the city being infected with the disease: so completely was its cause destroyed in the course of a few weeks.

In consequence of a proclamation by the governor, and a recommendation by the clergy of Philadelphia, the 12th of December was observed as a day of thanksgiving throughout the state, for the extinction of the disease in the city.

It was easy to distinguish, in walking the streets, the persons who had returned from the country to the city, from those who had remained in it during the prevalence of the fever. The former appeared ruddy and healthy, while the latter appeared of a pale sallow colour.

It afforded a subject of equal surprise and joy to behold the suddenness with which the city recovered its former habits of business. In the course of six weeks after the disease had ceased, nothing but fresh graves, and the black dresses of many of the citizens, afforded a public trace of the distress which had so lately prevailed in the city. . . .

A NARRATIVE OF THE STATE OF THE BODY AND MIND OF THE AUTHOR,
DURING THE PREVALENCE OF THE FEVER

Narratives of escapes from great dangers of shipwreck, war, captivity, and famine have always formed an interesting part of the history of the body and mind of man. But there are deliverances from equal dangers which have hitherto passed unnoticed; I mean from pestilential fevers. I shall briefly describe the state of my body and mind during my intercourse with the sick in the epidemic of 1793. The account will throw additional light upon the disease, and probably illustrate some of the laws of the animal economy: It will, moreover, serve to furnish a lesson to all who may be placed in similar circumstances to commit their lives, without fear, to the protection of that Being, who is able to save to the uttermost, not only from future, but from present evil.

Some time before the fever made its appearance, my wife and children went into the state of New Jersey, where they had long been in the habit of spending the summer months. My family, about the 25th of August, consisted of my mother, sister, who was on a visit to me, a black servant man, and a mulatto boy. I had five pupils, viz. Warner Washington and Edward Fisher, of Virginia; John Alston, of South Carolina, and John Redman Coxe (grandson to Dr. Redman) and John Stall, both of this city. They all crowded around me upon the sudden increase of business, and with one heart devoted themselves to my service, and to the cause of humanity.

The credit which the new mode of treating the disease acquired, in all parts of the city, produced an immense influx of patients to me from all quarters. My pupils were constantly employed; at first in putting up purging powders, but, after a while, only in bleeding and visiting the sick.

Between the 8th and the 15th of September I visited and prescribed for between a hundred and a hundred and twenty patients a day. Several of my pupils visited a fourth or fifth part of that number. For a while

we refused no calls. In the short intervals of business, which I spent at my meals, my house was filled with patients, chiefly the poor, waiting for advice. For many weeks I seldom ate without prescribing for numbers as I sat at my table. To assist me at these hours, as well as in the night, Mr. Stall, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Coxe accepted of rooms in my house, and became members of my family. Their labours now had no remission.

Immediately after I adopted the antiphlogistic mode of treating the disease, I altered my manner of living. I left off drinking wine and malt liquors. The good effects of the disuse of these liquors helped to confirm me in the theory I had adopted of the disease. A troublesome head-ache, which I had occasionally felt, and which excited a constant apprehension that I was taking the fever, now suddenly left me. I likewise, at this time, left off eating solid animal food, and lived wholly, but sparingly, upon weak broth, potatoes, raisins, coffee, and bread and butter.

From my constant exposure to the sources of the disease, my body became highly impregnated with miasmata. My eyes were yellow, and sometimes a yellowness was perceptible in my face. My pulse was preternaturally quick, and I had profuse sweats every night. . . . But my nights were rendered disagreeable, not only by these sweats, but by the want of my usual sleep, produced in part by the frequent knocking at my door, and in part by anxiety of mind, and the stimulus of the miasmata upon my system. I went to bed in conformity to habit only, for it ceased to afford me rest or refreshment. When it was evening I wished for morning; and when it was morning, the prospect of the labours of the day, at which I often shuddered, caused me to wish for the return of evening. The degrees of my anxiety may be easily conceived when I add, that I had at one time upwards of thirty heads of families under my care; among these were Mr. Josiah Coates, the father of eight, and Mr. Benjamin Scull and Mr. John Morell, both fathers of ten children. They were all in imminent danger; but it pleased God to make me the instrument of saving each of their lives. I rose at six o'clock, and generally found a number of persons waiting for advice in my shop or parlour. Hitherto the success of my practice gave a tone to my mind, which imparted preternatural vigour to my body. It was meat and drink to me to fulfil the duties I owed to my fellow-citizens, in this time of great and universal distress. From a hope that I might escape the disease, by avoiding every thing that could excite it into action, I carefully avoided the heat of the sun, and the coldness of the evening air. I likewise avoided yielding to everything that should raise or depress my passions. But at such a time, the events which influence the state of the body and mind

are no more under our command than the winds or weather. On the evening of the 14th of September, after eight o'clock, I visited the son of Mrs. Berriman, near the Swedes' church, who had sent for me early in the morning. I found him very ill. He had been bled in the forenoon, by my advice, but his pulse indicated a second bleeding. It would have been difficult to procure a bleeder at that late hour. I therefore bled him myself. Heated by this act, and debilitated by the labours of the day, I rode home in the evening air. During the ensuing night I was much indisposed. I rose, notwithstanding, at my usual hour. At eight o'clock I lost ten ounces of blood, and immediately afterwards got into my chair, and visited between forty and fifty patients before dinner. At the house of one of them I was forced to lie down a few minutes. In the course of this morning's labours my mind was suddenly thrown off its pivots, by the last look, and the pathetic cries, of a friend for help, who was dying under the care of a French physician. I came home about two o'clock, and was seized, immediately afterwards, with a chilly fit and a high fever. I took a dose of the mercurial medicine, and went to bed. In the evening I took a second purging powder, and lost ten ounces more of blood. The next morning I bathed my face, hands, and feet in cold water for some time. I drank plentifully, during the day and night, of weak hyson tea, and of water, in which currant jelly had been dissolved. At eight o'clock I was so well as to admit persons who came for advice into my room, and to receive reports from my pupils of the state of as many of my patients as they were able to visit; for, unfortunately, they were not able to visit them all (with their own) in due time; in consequence of which several died. The next day I came downstairs, and prescribed in my parlour for not less than a hundred people. On the 19th of the same month, I resumed my labours, but in great weakness. It was with difficulty that I ascended a pair of stairs, by the help of a banister. A slow fever, attended with irregular chills, and a troublesome cough, hung constantly upon me. The fever discovered itself in the heat of my hands, which my patients often told me were warmer than their own. The breath and exhalations from the sick now began to affect me, in small and infected rooms, in the most sensible manner. On the morning of the 4th of October I suddenly sank down, in a sick room, upon a bed, with a giddiness in my head. It continued for a few minutes, and was succeeded by a fever, which confined me to my house the remaining part of the day.

Every moment in the intervals of my visits to the sick was employed in prescribing, in my own house, for the poor, or in sending answers to messages from my patients; time was now too precious to be spent in

counting the number of persons who called upon me for advice. From circumstances I believe it was frequently 150, and seldom less than 50 in a day, for five or six weeks. The evening did not bring with it the least relaxation from my labours. I received letters every day from the country, and from distant parts of the union, containing inquiries into the mode of treating the disease, and after the health and lives of persons who had remained in the city. The business of every evening was to answer these letters, also to write to my family. These employments, by affording a fresh current to my thoughts, kept me from dwelling on the gloomy scenes of the day. After these duties were performed, I copied into my note book all the observations I had collected during the day, and which I had marked with a pencil in my pocket-book in sick rooms, or in my carriage.

To these constant labours of body and mind were added distresses from a variety of causes. Having found myself unable to comply with the numerous applications that were made to me, I was obliged to refuse many every day. My sister counted forty-seven in one forenoon before eleven o'clock. Many of them left my door with tears, but they did not feel more distress than I did from refusing to follow them. Sympathy, when it vents itself in acts of humanity, affords pleasure, and contributes to health; but the reflux of pity, like anger, gives pain, and disorders the body. In riding through the streets, I was often forced to resist the entreaties of parents imploring a visit to their children, or of children to their parents. I recollect, and even *yet* with pain, that I tore myself at one time from five persons in Moravian alley, who attempted to stop me, by suddenly whipping my horse, and driving my chair as speedily as possible beyond the reach of their cries.

The solicitude of the friends of the sick for help may further be conceived of, when I add, that the most extravagant compensations were sometimes offered for medical services, and, in one instance, for only a single visit. I had no merit in refusing these offers, and I have introduced an account of them only to inform such physicians as may hereafter be thrown into a similar situation, that I was favoured with an exemption from the fear of death, in proportion as I subdued every selfish feeling, and laboured exclusively for the benefit of others. In every instance in which I was forced to refuse these pathetic and earnest applications, my distress was heightened by the fear that the persons, whom I was unable to visit, would fall into improper hands, and perish by the use of bark, wine, and laudanum.

But I had other afflictions besides the distress which arose from the

abortive sympathy which I have described. On the 11th of September, my ingenious pupil, Mr. Washington, fell a victim to his humanity. He had taken lodgings in the country, where he sickened with the disease. Having been almost uniformly successful in curing others, he made light of his fever, and concealed the knowledge of his danger from me, until the day before he died. On the 18th of September Mr. Stall sickened in my house. A delirium attended his fever from the first hour it affected him. He refused, and even resisted force when used to compel him to take medicine. He died on the 23d of September.¹ Scarce had I recovered from the shock of the death of this amiable youth, when I was called to weep for a third pupil, Mr. Alston, who died in my neighbourhood the next day. He had worn himself down, before his sickness, by uncommon exertions in visiting, bleeding, and even sitting up with sick people. At this time Mr. Fisher was ill in my house. On the 26th of the month, at 12 o'clock, Mr. Coxe, my only assistant was seized with the fever, and went to his grand-father's. I followed him with a look, which I feared would be the last in my house. At two o'clock my sister, who had complained for several days, yielded to the disease, and retired to her bed. My mother followed her, much indisposed, early in the evening. My black servant man had been confined with the fever for several days, and had on that day, for the first time quitted his bed. My little mulatto boy, of eleven years old, was the only person in my family who was able to afford me the least assistance. At eight o'clock in the evening I finished the business of the day. A solemn stillness at that time pervaded the streets. In vain did I strive to forget my melancholy situation by answering letters and by putting up medicines, to be distributed next day among my patients. My faithful black man crept to my door, and at my request sat down by the fire, but he added, by his silence and dulness, to the gloom, which suddenly overpowered every faculty of my mind.

¹ This accomplished youth had made great attainments in his profession. He possessed, with an uncommon genius for science, talents for music, painting, and poetry. The following copy of an unfinished letter to his father (who had left the city) was found among his papers after his death. It shows that the qualities of his heart were equal to those of his head.

"Philadelphia, September 15, 1793.

"My Dear Father, I take every moment I have to spare to write you, which is not many; but you must excuse me, as I am doing good to my fellow-creatures. At this time, every moment I spend in idleness might probably cost a life. The sickness increases every day, but most of those who die, die for want of good attendance. We cure all we are called to on the first day, who are well attended, but so many doctors are sick, the poor creatures are glad to get a doctor's servant."

On the first day of October, at two o'clock in the afternoon, my sister died. I got into my carriage within an hour after she expired, and spent the afternoon in visiting patients. According as a sense of duty, or as grief has predominated in my mind, I have approved, and disapproved, of this act, ever since. She had borne a share in my labours. She had been my nurse in sickness, and my casuist in my choice of duties. My whole heart reposed itself in her friendship. Upon being invited to a friend's house in the country, when the disease made its appearance in the city, she declined accepting the invitation, and gave as a reason for so doing, that I might probably require her services in case of my taking the disease, and that if she were sure of dying, she would remain with me, provided that, by her death, she could save my life. From this time I declined in health and strength. All motion became painful to me. My appetite began to fail. My night sweats continued. My short and imperfect sleep was disturbed by distressing or frightful dreams. The scenes of them were derived altogether from sick rooms and grave-yards. I concealed my sorrows as much as possible from my patients; but when alone, the retrospect of what was past, and the prospect of what was before me, the termination of which was invisible, often filled my soul with the most poignant anguish. I wept frequently when retired from the public eye, but I did not weep over the lost members of my family alone. I beheld or heard every day of the deaths of citizens, useful in public, or amiable in private life. It was my misfortune to lose as patients the Rev. Mr. Fleming and Mr. Graesel, both exhausted by their labours of piety and love among the poor, before they sickened with the disease. I saw the last struggles of departing life in Mr. Powell, and deplored, in his death, an upright and faithful servant of the public, as well as a sincere and affectionate friend. Often did I mourn over persons who had, by the most unparalleled exertions, saved their friends and families from the grave, at the expense of their own lives. Many of these martyrs to humanity were in humble stations. Among the members of my profession, with whom I have been most intimately connected, I had daily cause of grief and distress. . . .

For the first two weeks after I visited patients in the yellow fever, I carried a rag wetted with vinegar, and smelled it occasionally in sick rooms: but after I saw and felt the signs of the universal presence of miasmata in my system, I laid aside this and all other precautions. I rested myself on the bed-side of my patients, and I drank milk or ate fruit in their sick rooms. Besides being saturated with miasmata, I had another security against being infected in sick rooms, and that was, I went into

scarcely a house which was more infected than my own. Many of the poor people, who called upon me for advice, were bled by my pupils in my shop, and in the yard which was between it and the street. From the want of a sufficient number of bowls to receive their blood, it was sometimes suffered to flow and putrefy upon the ground. From this source streams of miasmata were constantly poured into my house, and conveyed into my body by the air, during every hour of the day and night.

The deaths of my pupils and sister have often been urged as objections to my mode of treating the fever. Had the same degrees of labour and fatigue, which preceded the attack of the yellow fever in each of them, preceded an attack of a common pleurisy, I think it probable that some, or perhaps all of them, would have died with it. But when the influence of the concentrated miasmata which filled my house was added to that of constant fatigue upon their bodies, what remedies could be expected to save their lives? Under the above circumstances, I consider the recovery of the other branches of my family from the fever (and none of them escaped it) with emotions, such as I should feel had we all been revived from apparent death by the exertions of a humane society. . . .

I had read and taught, in my lectures, that fasting increases acuteness in the sense of touch. My low living had that effect, in a certain degree, upon my fingers. I had a quickness in my perception, of the state of the pulse in the yellow fever, that I had never experienced before in any other disease. My abstemious diet, assisted perhaps by the state of my feelings, had likewise an influence upon my mind. Its operations were performed with an ease and a celerity, which rendered my numerous and complicated duties much less burdensome than they would probably have been under other circumstances of diet, or a less agitated state of my passions.

My perception of the lapse of time was new to me. It was uncommonly slow. The ordinary business and pursuits of men appeared to me in a light that was equally new. The hearse and the grave mingled themselves with every view I took of human affairs. Under these impressions I recollect being as much struck with observing a number of men, employed in digging the cellar of a large house, as I should have been, at any other time, in seeing preparations for building a palace upon a cake of ice. I recollect, further, being struck with surprise, about the 1st of October, in seeing a man busily employed in laying in wood for the approaching winter. I should as soon have thought of making a provision for a dinner on the first day of the year 1800.

In the account of my distresses, I have passed over the slanders

which were propagated against me by some of my brethren. I have mentioned them only for the sake of declaring, in this public manner, that I most heartily forgive them; and that if I discovered, at any time, an undue sense of the unkindness and cruelty of those slanders, it was not because I felt myself injured by them, but because I was sure they would irreparably injure my fellow-citizens, by lessening their confidence in the only remedies that I believed to be effectual in the reigning epidemic. One thing in my conduct towards these gentlemen may require justification; and that is, my refusing to consult with them. A Mahometan and a Jew might as well attempt to worship the Supreme Being in the same temple, and through the medium of the same ceremonies, as two physicians of opposite principles and practice attempt to confer about the life of the same patient. . . .

After the loss of my health I received letters from my friends in the country, pressing me, in the strongest terms, to leave the city. Such a step had become impracticable. My aged mother was too infirm to be removed, and I could not leave her. I was, moreover, part of a little circle of physicians, who had associated themselves in support of the new remedies. This circle would have been broken by my quitting the city. The weather varied the disease, and, in the weakest state of my body, I expected to be able, from the reports of my pupils, to assist my associates in detecting its changes, and in accommodating our remedies to them. Under these circumstances it pleased God to enable me to reply to one of the letters that urged my retreat from the city, that "I had resolved to stick to my principles, my practice, and my patients, to the last extremity."

On the 9th of October, I visited a considerable number of patients, and, as the day was warm, I lessened the quantity of my clothing. Towards evening I was seized with a pain in the back, which obliged me to go to bed at eight o'clock. About twelve I awoke with a chilly fit. A violent fever, with acute pains in different parts of my body, followed it. At one o'clock I called for Mr. Fisher, who slept in the next room. He came instantly, with my affectionate black man, to my relief. I saw my danger painted in Mr. Fisher's countenance. He bled me plentifully, and gave me a dose of the mercurial medicine. . . . The remaining part of the night was passed under an apprehension that my labours were near an end. I could hardly expect to survive so violent an attack of the fever, broken down, as I was, by labour, sickness, and grief. . . . The next day the fever left me, but in so weak a state, that I awoke two successive nights with a faintness which threatened the extinction of my life. It was

removed each time by taking a little aliment. My convalescence was extremely slow. I returned, in a very gradual manner, to my former habits of diet. . . . During the month of November, and all the winter months, I was harassed with a cough and a fever somewhat of the hectic kind. The early warmth of the spring removed those complaints, and restored me, through Divine Goodness to my usual state of health.

I should be deficient in gratitude, were I to conclude this narrative without acknowledging my obligations to my surviving pupils, Mr. Fisher and Mr. Coxe, for the great support and sympathy I derived from them in my labours and distresses.

I take great pleasure likewise in acknowledging my obligations to my former pupil, Dr. Woodhouse, who assisted me in the care of my patients, after I became so weak as not to be able to attend them with the punctuality their cases required. The disinterested exploits of these young gentlemen in the cause of humanity, and their success in the treatment of the disease, have endeared their names to hundreds, and, at the same time, afforded a prelude of their future eminence and usefulness in their profession.

But wherewith shall I come before the great FATHER and REDEEMER of men, and what shall I render unto him for the issue of my life from the grave?

Here all language fails:

Come then expressive silence, muse his praise.

Life and Character of Christopher Ludwick¹

There was a time, when the lives of men who occupied the first ranks in society were the only subjects of biographical history. Happily for the world, this species of writing has descended into the humble walks of life, and embracing the characters of men of different professions and occupations, has multiplied its usefulness, by holding up practicable examples of successful talents and virtue, to those classes of people who constitute the majority of mankind.

¹ From *An Account of the Life and Character of Christopher Ludwick, Late Citizen of Philadelphia, and Baker-General of the Army of the United States during the Revolutionary War*, by Benjamin Rush, M.D. First published in the year 1801. Reviewed and republished by direction of the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools. To which is added, "An Account of the Origin, Progress, and Present Condition of That Institution" (Philadelphia, 1831). The following introductory note appears in this edition:

"The Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools, cherishing with feelings of respect and gratitude, the memory of its most distinguished

The history of the life and character of Christopher Ludwick, is calculated to show the influence of a religious education upon moral conduct; of habits of industry and economy, upon success in all enterprises; and to inspire hope and exertion in young men of humble employment, and scanty capital, to aspire to wealth and independence, by the only means in which they are capable of commanding respect and affording happiness.

Most of the incidents which are to compose the following memoir were obtained from Mr. Ludwick, by a person who often visited him in the evening of his life. Such of them as were not obtained from that source, were communicated by his family, or by persons who were the witnesses of them.

Christopher Ludwick was born on the 17th of October, 1720, at Giesen in Hesse Darmstadt, in the circle of the Upper Rhine, in Germany. His father was a Baker, in which business the son was instructed as soon as he was able to work. At fourteen years of age he was sent to a free school, where he was taught to read and write, and the common rules of arithmetic. He was carefully instructed at the same time, in the principles of the Christian religion as held by the Lutherans. Of this school he always retained a grateful remembrance, as will appear in the sequel of his life. At seventeen years of age, he enlisted as a private soldier in the army of the Emperor of Germany, and bore his part in the war carried on by the Austrians against the Turks, between the years 1737 and 1740. At the close of the war in Turkey, he set off with one hundred men for Vienna. Their march was through a dreary country, and in extremely cold weather. Seventy-five of his companions perished on the way. He spent some months in Vienna. The incident that made the deepest impression on his mind while he remained in that city, was the public execu-

benefactor, some time since appointed a committee to prepare for publication, a sketch of the life and character of Christopher Ludwick, to whose early and liberal endowment the Institution is deeply indebted. The committee reported at a subsequent meeting, that they had succeeded in obtaining a brief account of that singular, but worthy man, which appeared in Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, about thirty years ago, and which was written by the late Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Ludwick. This memoir, having been revised by the committee, was ordered to be printed, and a copy to be furnished to each member of the Society.

"A brief sketch of the origin, progress, and present condition of the Society, has been added. It was a pioneer in the important cause of public free schools in Pennsylvania, and its history, like Mr. Ludwick's life, affords another evidence of what may be effected by industry and perseverance.

"Philadelphia, June 1831."

tion of the Commissary General of the Austrian army, for fraud and speculation.

From Vienna he went to Prague, where he endured all the distresses of a seventeen weeks' siege. After its surrender to the French arms in 1741, he enlisted as a soldier in the army of the King of Prussia. Upon the return of peace, he went to London, . . . and passed the years between 1745 and 1752 in successive voyages from London to Holland, Ireland, and the West Indies, as a common sailor. In these voyages he saved twenty-five pounds sterling, with which he bought a quantity of ready made clothes, and embarked with them for Philadelphia, where he arrived in 1753. He sold these clothes for a profit of 300 per cent, and with the proceeds returned to London. Here he spent nine months in learning the confectionary business, and the making of gingerbread. In the year 1754, he returned to Philadelphia with a number of gingerbread prints, and immediately set up his business of family and gingerbread baker in Laetitia Court. . . . He was much esteemed by all who did business with him, for his integrity and punctuality, and for his disposition to do kind offices. His neighbours treated him with so much respect, that he acquired among them the title of "The Governor of Laetitia Court."

In the year 1774, he felt, with a great majority of the people of America, the impulse of that spirit of liberty, which led them to oppose, first by petitions and afterwards by arms, the attempts of Great Britain to subjugate the American Colonies. He possessed at that time, nine houses in Philadelphia, a farm near Germantown, and three thousand five hundred pounds, Pennsylvania currency, at interest; all of which he staked with his life, in the scale of his country. He was elected successively, a member of all the Committees and Conventions, which conducted the affairs of the Revolution, in Pennsylvania, in 1774, 1775 and 1776. His principles and conduct were alike firm, under the most difficult and alarming events of those memorable years. In one of the Conventions of which he was a member, it was proposed by General Mifflin, to open a private subscription for purchasing fire-arms. To this motion some persons objected the difficulty of obtaining, by such a measure, the sum that was required. Upon this, Mr. Ludwick rose and addressed the chair, in the following laconic speech, which he delivered in broken English, but in a loud and animated voice: "Mr. President, I am but a poor gingerbread baker, but put my name down for two hundred pounds." The debate was closed by this speech, and the motion was carried unanimously in the affirmative.

In the summer of 1776, he acted as a volunteer in the flying camp, but drew neither pay nor rations for his services. He animated the soldiers with the love of liberty, by his example and conversation, and often pointed out to them the degrading nature of slavery, by describing the poverty and misery of his native country under the rapacious hands of arbitrary kings and princes. Upon one occasion he heard that a number of militia soldiers, who were dissatisfied with their rations, were about to leave the camp. He went hastily to them, and in the sight of them all, fell suddenly upon his knees. This solemn and humble attitude commanded general silence and attention. "Brother soldiers," said he, "listen for one minute to Christopher Ludwick"—for in this manner he often spoke of himself.—"When we hear the cry of fire in Philadelphia, on the hill at a distance from us, we fly there with our buckets to keep it from our houses. So let us keep the great fire of the British army from our town. In a few days you shall have good bread and enough of it." This speech had its desired effect. The mutinous spirit of a detachment of the militia was instantly checked. In the autumn of the campaign, eight Hessian prisoners were brought into the camp. A disagreement of opinion took place at head quarters, about the most proper place to confine them. "Let us," said Mr. Ludwick, who happened to be at head quarters, "take them to Philadelphia, and there show them our fine German churches. Let them see how our tradesmen eat good beef, drink out of silver cups every day, and ride out in chairs every afternoon; and then let us send them back to their countrymen, and they will all soon run away, and come and settle in our city and be as good whigs as any of us."

From a desire to extend the blessings of liberty and independence to his German countrymen, he once exposed his neck to the most imminent danger. He went, with the consent of the commanding officer of the flying camp, among that part of the British army which was composed of Hessian troops while they were encamped on Staten Island, in the character of a deserter. He opened to them the difference between the privileges and manner of life of an American freeman and those of a Hessian slave. He gave them the most captivating descriptions of the affluence and independence of their former countrymen in the German counties of Pennsylvania. His exertions were not in vain. They were followed by the gradual desertion of many hundred soldiers, who, now in comfortable freeholds or on valuable farms, with numerous descendants, bless the name of Christopher Ludwick. He escaped from the Hessian camp, without detection or suspicion.

In the spring of 1777, he received the following commission:

In Congress, May 3, 1777.

Resolved, That Christopher Ludwick be, and he is hereby appointed Superintendent of Bakers, and Director of Baking in the army of the United States; and that he shall have power to engage, and by permission of the Commander in Chief, or officer commanding at any principal post, all persons to be employed in this business, and to regulate their pay, making proper reports of his proceedings, and using his best endeavours to rectify all abuse in the articles of bread; that no person be permitted to exercise the trade of a baker in the said army without such license, and that he receive for his services herein, an allowance of seventy-five dollars a month, and two rations a day.

Extract from the minutes,

Charles Thomson, Secretary.

By order of Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

When this commission was delivered to him by a committee of Congress, they proposed, that for every pound of flour, he should furnish the army with a pound of bread. "No gentlemen," said he, "I will not accept of your commission upon any such terms; Christopher Ludwick does not want to get rich by the war; he has money enough. I will furnish one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread for every cwt. of flour you put into my hands." The committee were strangers to the increase of weight which flour acquires by the addition of water and leaven.

From this time there were no complaints of the bad quality of bread in the army, nor was there a moment in which the movements of the army, or of any part of it, were delayed from the want of that necessary article of food. After the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, he baked six thousand pounds of bread for his army by order of General Washington. "Let it be good," said he, "old gentleman," (the epithet which the general most commonly gave him) "and let there be enough of it, if I should want myself."

He often dined with the Commander in Chief in large companies, and was always treated by him upon such occasions, with particular marks of attention. He frequently spent two hours at a time with him in private, in conferring upon the business of the baking department. The General appreciated his worth, and occasionally addressed him in company, as "his honest friend."

At the close of the war, he returned and settled on his farm near Germantown. His house had been plundered of every article of furniture, plate and wearing apparel, he had left in it, by the British army on their march to Philadelphia. As he had no more cash than was sufficient to satisfy the demands of the market, he suffered a good deal from the want of many of the conveniences of life.

The principal part of his bonds having been paid to him in depreciated paper money, he was obliged to sell part of his real property in order to replace his clothing and furniture.¹

In the year 1795 . . . he converted his farm and all his houses except one into private bonds and public stock, and removed to Philadelphia . . . During the prevalence of yellow fever in 1797 the old gentleman volunteered his services to assist in making bread for distribution among the poor, in that period of awful distress. . . .

In the last two years of his life he was frequently indisposed; he spent the intervals of his sickness in reading his bible and religious books and in visiting his friends. . . . He had held his life for a year or two, by the tenure of a small and single thread; it broke on Wednesday, the 17th of the month. There appeared to be a revival of the languid powers of reason in his last illness; he ceased to speak, with a prayer upon his lips.

The event of Mr. Ludwick's death was thus noticed in the public papers:

Died, on the evening of the 17th inst. in the 80th year of his age, Christopher Ludwick, Baker General of the army of the United States during the Revolutionary war. His life was marked by a variety of incidents, which, if known, would prove interesting to every class of readers. In all the stations in which he acted, he was distinguished for his strong natural sense, strict probity, great benevolence, and uncommon intrepidity in asserting the cause of public and private justice. . . .

Thus closed the long and chequered life of a most singular but worthy and useful man. Of the domestic virtues of Mr. Ludwick, the surviving branches of his family are the affectionate and grateful witnesses. Of his patriotism and integrity, the testimony of General Washington will be a lasting record. Of his liberality, there is scarcely a public institution in Philadelphia, established before his decease, that does not possess some

¹ The following certificate, which he had neatly framed and hung up in his parlour, not only reconciled him to these losses, but threw a large balance of pleasure in their favour.

"I have known Christopher Ludwick from an early period in the war, and have every reason to believe as well from observation as information, that he has been a true and faithful servant to the public; that he has detected and exposed many impositions, which were attempted to be practised by others in his department; that he has been the cause of much saving in many respects; and that his deportment in public life, has afforded unquestionable proofs of his integrity and worth.

"With respect to his losses, I have no personal knowledge, but have often heard that he has suffered from his zeal in the cause of his country.

"Geo. Washington

"April 25, 1785."

monument. Three Africans whom he had emancipated, proclaimed in tears over his grave, his regard to justice and the equal rights of man; while more than fifty persons who had been taught reading, writing and arithmetic at his expense, in different schools in the city and its neighbourhood, summed up the evidence of his uncommon public beneficence. His private charities were like the fires that blazed perpetually upon the Jewish altar. The principal part of his business for many years before he died was to find out and relieve objects of distress. This was done with a delicacy and secrecy that conferred a double pleasure and obligation. He discriminated, it is true, in the distribution of his charities. To the tippler, and drunkard, his hand was always closed; when applied to by such persons for relief, he used to say, "he had not carried packs of flour upon his back for twenty years, to help people to destroy themselves by strong drink."

The same just and charitable disposition which governed his actions in life, manifested itself in an eminent degree in his will; in which after bequeathing various family legacies, he gives five hundred pounds, in equal shares, to the German Reformed Church in Philadelphia, to the German Society, to the University of Pennsylvania, and the Lutheran Church at Beggarstown, to be employed in educating poor children. To the Pennsylvania Hospital, he gives one hundred pounds for the relief of poor patients, and to the Guardians of the Poor, two hundred pounds, to be laid out in fire wood for the use of the poor in Philadelphia. The residue of his estate is then disposed of by the following bequest, viz:

ITEM. As I have, ever since I arrived to the years of discretion, seen the benefit and advantage that arise to the community by the education and instruction of poor children, and have earnestly desired that an institution could be established in this city or liberties, for the education of poor children of all denominations gratis, without any exception to country, extraction or religious principles of their friends or parents; and as the residue and remainder of my estate will, in my opinion, amount to upwards of three thousand pounds specie, I am willing that the same shall be my mite or contribution towards such institution, and flatter myself that many others will add and contribute to the fund for so laudable a purpose. And therefore I do will, devise, and direct that all the residue and remainder of my estate, real and personal, whatsoever and wheresoever, not hereinbefore otherwise disposed of, shall be appropriated as and towards a fund, for the schooling and educating gratis, of poor children of all denominations, in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, without any exception to the country, extraction, or religious principles of their parents or friends; and for that purpose shall be vested by my executors, or the survivors or survivor of them, or the executor of such survivor, in the public funds, or

placed out at interest on good and sufficient land security, or in the purchase of well-secured ground rents, and the annual interest and income thereof, from time to time, used and applied by them my said executors and the survivors or survivor of them, and in case of all their deaths, then by the Guardians or Overseers of the Poor in the said city or liberties for the time being, and their successors, for the sole use and purpose of defraying the expense of schooling and educating of such poor children of the said city or liberties, whose parents or friends cannot afford to pay for the same, without any exception as above mentioned, until an institution and free school on the liberal principles as herein above mentioned, shall be established and incorporated in the said city or liberties, when all the said residue and remainder of my estate, whether in stock, mortgages or ground rents, and otherwise, shall vest in and be added to the fund of such charitable institution and free school, for the use and purpose of educating poor children as above mentioned forever.

If before the lapse of five years, such a school should not be established, he orders the said residue of his estate, to be divided in unequal shares among the German Lutheran, the German Reformed, the English Episcopal, the First and Second Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, and the African Churches, and the University of Pennsylvania, to be employed by them, exclusively in educating poor children.—His reason for including the Roman Catholic Church, in this division of his property, he said, was to express his gratitude for the kindness he received from some Catholic peasants, above sixty years ago, when returning half starved and naked from Turkey to Vienna. . . .

The incidents which have been related of the life and character of Mr. Ludwick, are replete with instruction to the statesman, the citizen, the moralist and the divine. They suggest many reflections: the following are a few of the most obvious.

1. The benefit of free schools: without the advantages Mr. Ludwick derived from one of them, he might have passed through life in obscurity, or ended his days prematurely, from the operation of vices which are the results of a defect of education. It was from a grateful sense of the usefulness of the knowledge he acquired in a free school, that he took so much pains during his life, and in his will, to render that degree of knowledge more general, by educating the children of the poor people. The greatest favour that can be conferred upon a poor child is to give him the knowledge of letters and figures. It is equal to imparting to him a sixth sense.

2. The wealth and independence which were acquired by Mr. Ludwick, forcibly exemplify the benefits of regular industry and economy in a mechanical employment. Could the aggregate product of labour in

agriculture and the mechanical arts, be compared with the product of commerce and speculation under equal circumstances in Pennsylvania, the balance would be greatly in favour of the former. This balance would be derived chiefly from economy which is connected with labour.

3. In every stage and situation of life, Mr. Ludwick appeared to be, more or less, under the influence of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. Part of this influence, it has been said, was derived from his education. But it was much increased by the following circumstance. His father inherited from his grandfather, a piece of silver of the size of a French crown, on one side of which was marked in bas relief, a representation of John baptizing our Saviour, with the following words in its exergue, in the German language. "The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin." 1 John I. vii. On the other side, was the representation of a new born infant, lying in an open field, with the following words in its exergue. "I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, live." Ezekiel xvi. vi. This piece of silver Mr. Ludwick carried in his pocket, in all his voyages and travels in Europe, Asia and America. It was closely associated in his mind, with the respect and affection he bore for his ancestors, and with a belief of his interest in the blessings of the Gospel. In looking at it in all his difficulties and dangers, he found animation and courage. In order to insure its safety and perpetuity, he had it fixed a few years ago in the lid of a silver tankard, in the front of which he had engraved the following device, a bible, a plough and a sword; and under it the following motto: "May the religion, industry and courage of a German parent, be the inheritance of his issue."

4. "If men were to record all their escapes from death," says a sensible writer, "they would find as many proofs of divine interposition in favour of their lives, as are recorded in the history of the life of Joseph." It is impossible to review the numerous causes of death to which Mr. Ludwick was exposed, from battles, famine, and casualties of a sailor's life, vicissitudes and heat of climates, an enemy's camp, and yellow fevers, and his wonderful preservation from death for eighty years, and not acknowledge that a particular providence presides over the lives and affairs of men.

The following epitaph is inscribed on the tomb stone of Mr. Ludwick, in the grave yard of the Lutheran church at Germantown.

In Memory of Christopher Ludwick, and of his wife Catharine, She died at Germantown the 21st September, 1796, Aged eighty years and five months; He died at Philadelphia the 17th June, 1801, Aged eighty years and nine months.

He was born at Giessen in Hesse D'Armstadt in Germany, and learned the

Baker's trade and business; in his early life he was a soldier and a sailor, and visited the East and West Indies; in the year 1775, he came to and settled at Philadelphia, and by his industry at his trade and business, acquired a handsome competency, part of which he devoted to the service of his adopted country in the contest for the Independence of America; was appointed Baker General to the Army, and for his faithful services received a written testimony from the Commander in Chief General Washington. On every occasion his zeal for the relief of the oppressed was manifest; and by his last will, he bequeathed the greater part of his estate for the Education of the children of the poor of all denominations, gratis. He lived and died respected for his integrity and public spirit, by all who knew him. Reader, such was Ludwick. Art thou poor, Venerate his character. Art thou rich, Imitate his example.

PRIZE MEDICAL SOCIAL CASE RECORD^{*}

CHARLES ROCQUE

(EMILIE KRAUSE, SOCIAL WORKER)

On September 8, 1926, Charles Rocque, a young man twenty years of age, was admitted to the Ohio General Hospital in a state of diabetic coma. This was the third time he had been in the hospital for treatment for diabetes mellitus. A severe burn received in early childhood had severely disfigured his face. He had become discouraged over his physical condition, his inability to contribute to the family income, and his social handicaps. His father, a man of fifty-eight years,

^{*} [In the September number of this *Review* (Vol. I, p. 443) attention was called to the annual competition maintained by the American Association of Hospital Social Workers; and the record of Anna Szwydny, submitted by Miss Gertrude Tennant, of the Mayo Clinic, to which the first prize was awarded, was published. The competition of 1928 has now taken place. There were nineteen records submitted, and the first prize was awarded to the record of Charles Rocque, submitted by Miss Agnes Schroeder, of the Lakeside Hospital, Cleveland, Ohio, which is given below. The scale on which the records were graded has been slightly changed since last year (see *Medical Social Case Records* [Social Service Monograph No. 3], p. 164) and is now on the basis of a possible 100 points as follows:

- A. Record form, 20 per cent
 - 1. Accuracy, 1 per cent
 - 2. Terseness, 3 per cent
 - 3. Completeness, 3 per cent
 - 4. Diction, 2 per cent
 - 5. Objective recording, 3 per cent
 - 6. Vividness, 3 per cent
 - 7. Recording of case-work method, 5 per cent

[Footnote continued on following page]

was born in this country and had gone to the fifth grade in the common school. He was working as an automobile salesman, and his earnings were irregular, usually being about twenty-five dollars a week. His mother, also born in this country, was a graduate of a teachers' training school. A brother, Maurice, eighteen years old and working as an automobile salesman, and Marie, a sister, twelve years, were the others in the immediate family. They lived in the home of Mrs. Rocque's mother, Mrs. Rose Dvorak, and paid the taxes, insurance, and general expenses of the house as rent. Both Mr. and Mrs. Rocque had relatives in other cities. The record shows the names of the White Brothers Automobile Sales Company, the Hirsch Radio & Supply Company, Huyler and Sheridan as employers. Dr. Richard Fox was the physician. The American Red Cross, the Bureau of Civilian Relief, and the Army Hospital were the other agencies interested.]

B. Medical-social or psychiatric-social study, 35 per cent

1. Securing and correlating of data, 25 per cent

- a) Study of patient, 5 per cent
- b) Appropriateness of sources consulted, 6 per cent
- c) Designation of sources consulted, 2 per cent
- d) Arrangement of material in focus, 6 per cent
- e) Adequacy of content of medical and social material, 6 per cent

2. Analysis of problem and outline of plan of treatment, 10 per cent

C. Medical-social or psychiatric-social treatment, 35 per cent

1. Technique, 20 per cent

- a) Control and management by the worker in contrast to the control and management of the worker by the natural process of the case, 15 per cent
- b) Use of assets and liabilities, 5 per cent (Use and response from resources personal and impersonal types)

2. Rapport between patient and worker, 5 per cent

3. Integration of social with medical or psychiatric work, 10 per cent

D. Analytical summary of accomplishment of medical-social or psychiatric-social study and treatment, adequacy of treatment, results, and termination of case, 10 per cent

The record will be followed by the grading and comments of the Committee.

As before, we are under great obligation to the members of the Committee, Miss Edith M. Baker, of the St. Louis Hospital Social Service Association; Miss Ruth Emerson, of the Albert Merritt Billings Hospital and Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago; Mrs. Helen Anderson Young, of the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota; Miss Antoinette Cannon, of the New York School of Social Work; and Miss Mabel Wilson, of the Children's Hospital, Boston; and also to Miss Helen Beckley, executive secretary of the Association, for permission to publish the record in advance. It is unnecessary to say that the name of the patient is fictitious and that the names of the other persons have likewise been changed.]

REFERRED BY

Social worker, diabetes class.

WHY REFERRED

Charles was in the hospital for the third time for treatment for diabetes mellitus, having been admitted in coma, which was brought on by a break in his regimen of several days' duration. The other periods of treatment had been from June 13, 1923, to July 2, 1923, and from February 9, 1924, to March 18, 1924. On both occasions his condition had improved so that his urine became sugar-free and the blood sugar greatly reduced. After discharge, he had not, however, either observed the necessary diet restrictions or maintained his insulin treatments. This seemed to indicate the need for greater effort to effect his adjustment to chronic disease, both occupationally and socially.

He was admitted through the Accident Ward. This was later explained by Charles and Mrs. Rocque as having been caused by lack of insulin, Charles having broken his syringe, and by an emotional upset. During this period of hospitalization, complications developed, among them a Vincent's infection of the lungs, an abscess of the left parotid gland, and bronchopneumonia.

HOME CONDITIONS

(Obtained from home visit in 1924.)

The neighborhood is a residential one in a section of the city where American and Americanized foreign families live in single and double houses. Family and Mrs. Rocque's mother live in a two-story, single, frame house of the style of about thirty-five years ago. The lot is large, being wide enough for another narrow house and deep enough to accommodate the barn and vegetable garden without appearing crowded. At the side of the house there are flowers and shrubs and a well-kept lawn. The paint on the house has worn off considerably, and the narrow front porch is in need of repairs.

The parlor, small bedroom, dining-room, and kitchen are downstairs. In the parlor there is an oak davenport covered with black imitation leather, an upright piano, a morris chair, a rocker, and a small secretary. The dining-room floor is covered with linoleum, and the chairs and table are old and worn. There is a radio in one corner and a combination coal and gas stove in another corner. The wall paper and furnishings are old, but the rooms are clean and look lived-in. There is no bathroom in the house, but there is a toilet off the back porch. The house is heated with stoves as there is no furnace.

FINANCIAL DATA

(Obtained from various interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Rocque since 1923.)

In 1923 Mr. Rocque did not know the exact amount of his income as he was then selling trucks on a commission basis, but said it was below the income-tax level. The family had no debts. The house belongs to Mrs. Rocque's mother, who accepts her maintenance in lieu of rent, the family also paying the water rent, taxes, fire insurance, and repairs. These average a little less than \$100 a year.

On January 8, 1924, Mr. Rocque stated that he had sold very few trucks that fall and winter and that, though Maurice was working, Charles had been unable to find employment. Mrs. Rocque said that she did all the housework and the sewing and that they could afford no luxuries of any kind. The family had never been able to get ahead financially, and they could not afford to send Charles to the Art Institute on graduation from high school.

In 1926 Mrs. Rocque said that Mr. Rocque was receiving a salary instead of commission and that it gave her something definite to count on.

A rate of \$1.00 per day and no extras was made when Charles entered the hospital on February 9, 1924.

PERSONAL HISTORY OF MEMBERS OF FAMILY

MR. ROCQUE

He is tall, well built, has dark hair and eyes, and must have been very striking looking in his youth. He is healthy and robust looking and has never complained of illness. He is always neatly dressed and wears clothes suitable for his work as salesman. He has a friendly manner, talks easily, using a vocabulary that shows breadth of interest and intelligence.

Mrs. Rocque said that Mr. Rocque is of French parentage, that his father was a Civil War veteran, and that Mr. Rocque is a veteran of the Spanish-American and World wars. He finished only the fifth grade in school. During the Tom Johnson administration he was the chauffeur of N. D. Hines, superintendent of the city plumbing department. After Mr. Hines left the city plumbing department, he tried to find a salaried position, but failed to do so and finally secured employment selling Ford trucks at 20 per cent commission. According to Mrs. Rocque, he knows all about automobiles.

On November 11, 1926, Mrs. Rocque explained that Mr. Rocque was no longer selling trucks, but for some time had been a salesman of

Ford tractors, plows, and cement-mixers. As sale for these is not so great as for Ford trucks, a number of the Ford salesmen were selected to cover the entire city and to represent all Ford agencies. They are paid on a salary basis, which varies according to the amount sold by the entire group.

Mr. Rocque was at one time very much interested in amateur photography and made enlargements as a hobby. He enjoyed making pictures of outdoor subjects. He has always displayed interest in Charles's artistic talent.

Mr. Rocque attends the McBride Lectures at Western Reserve University, taking Charles with him, and both enjoy these lectures very much.

Mr. Rocque attends church services very regularly and, according to Mrs. Rocque and Charles, is intensely religious. Charles said that Mr. Rocque reads religious books and talks a great deal about his religion.

One time Mr. Rocque expressed the opinion that it might be wise for Charles to make no further attempt to earn his living through art because of the difficulty of getting into that field. He visited Charles in the hospital very frequently and was interested in arranging his flowers and getting Charles cheered up. Mrs. Rocque said that Mr. Rocque does not expect Charles to get back to work soon and does not want him to feel that he must earn money.

MRS. ROCQUE

She is rather short, has keen, gray eyes, and grayish hair. Her expression is one of alertness and intelligence. She is thin and, though she looks worn, has never complained to worker of illness. Her teeth appear to be very poor.

She is a graduate of a teachers' training school; but as she married soon after her graduation, she did not teach. Though doing all the house-keeping and sewing and taking care of her mother, she has been painstaking about preparing Charles's diet. She apparently makes few demands for herself, always dresses neatly, but in clothes that look old and lack taste. Her life appears to be bound up in the various members of her family and not in the house itself. She has a cheerful disposition and has met her problems courageously. She is greatly interested in Charles's artistic talent and has encouraged him to go on with art. She is ambitious for her children and has taken the initiative in trying to help Charles secure the right kind of employment. When Maurice had an opportunity to do truck driving, she said she did not wish him to do work of this kind as she felt it had no future. Though he was unemployed, she preferred to have him look longer for something better.

MRS. ROCQUE'S MOTHER

Mrs. Rocque said her mother speaks no English and that the children converse with her in Bohemian. Mrs. Dvorak enjoys working in the garden as long as the weather permits. She prepares her own simple meals. She is very fond of Charles and asked about him continually when he was on the ward.

CHARLES

Charles is tall, slender, has dark brown hair and gray eyes. His face is very badly scarred, especially on the right side, including the right ear. At the age of eleven, he was burned by a gasoline explosion when he and a small cousin were playing in the garage.

He attended Waverly School, and it was there that his artistic ability was discovered and he was encouraged by his teachers to develop it. He did a great deal of free-hand drawing at home. Marie, who is now a pupil at the same school, said that the teachers often speak of Charles and advise her to learn to draw from him. Several times Charles made drawings for her which she took to school and which have been exhibited there.

Charles attended and graduated from Technical High School June, 1923. He had been losing weight, and in the spring had been told by a private doctor that he had diabetes. He was determined to finish high school and so kept on and entered the hospital the day following graduation.

School report.—Called at Technical High School March 3, 1926. Charles's report card in the office showed that his grades were very good in all subjects and excellent in art. Charles's former art teacher was seen, and she stated that his talent was exceptional. She had had Charles in her classes for several years and was very much interested in his development. She felt he had every chance for making art his life-work and of being very successful in it. She went with worker to see Mr. Gregory, head of the art department in the school, for suggestions for Charles's further development. Both felt that the Warren Penfield Institute was the place for Charles, if no way could be found for him to attend the Art Institute. Both suggested that Charles be sent to Dean Edward Sheffield Ames with a letter of introduction, as Mr. Ames might make some special arrangement for Charles's admission to the school.

Employment.—As Charles has always had the ambition to become an artist, his various jobs have been considered by him to be temporary ones. He has spent much time and effort in seeking work in artists' studios and in advertising, lithographing, and printing companies, to enable him to get a start in the field of commercial art. In between times

he has worked in a radio business at building and installing radios, and for his uncle who has a machine shop in the rear of his home.

Social life.—Charles's main interests are art, mechanical things, and athletics. Charles was on the football team in high school, and Mrs. Rocque attributes his diabetes to a fall during one of the games. He gave up football very reluctantly after his discharge from the hospital. In the summer of 1926 he and several boys in the neighborhood worked together making a tennis court and later played on it. Charles has an old second-hand Ford car, with which he likes to tinker, and which he frequently takes entirely apart. Before entering the hospital for the third time, he had begun the construction of a ship model, the directions for which he had secured from *Popular Mechanics Magazine*.

Charles does not have any difficulty in making friends, but he likes to be with a few at a time. The boys with whom he played tennis had a small brother of three or four whom they called their mascot and of whom Charles was very fond. Mrs. Rocque said that Charles took little Bobby riding a great deal and enjoyed being with him. Just before Charles's third admission to the hospital, Bobby was run over, which upset Charles emotionally and was believed by Mrs. Rocque to have been a factor in bringing on the coma. Bobby died of the accident, but Charles was not informed of his death while in the hospital, as Mrs. Rocque feared he was too ill for more bad news.

Disposition, attitude toward home and family.—Charles is very shy and quiet; but when his confidence has been gained, is very willing to talk about his interests. Once he discussed his disfiguration and said he usually forgets he has it. From his hesitancy to meet people and his way of avoiding looking at people, it is worker's impression he suffers from a feeling of inferiority because of it.

Charles is a home-loving boy and gets homesick when in the hospital. He seems to be very fond of the family, especially of Marie.

It is worker's impression that the use of art as a form of occupational therapy during Charles's second hospitalization was a means of associating in his mind the treatment of diabetes with his future. Before that he had looked upon the treatment as unmanly and a bothersome form of fussing, but he began to regard it as one means of realizing his aim in life.

MAURICE

Maurice, or "Maur," as Charles calls him, is shorter than Charles; he has brown eyes and wavy, dark brown hair. He attended Technical High School but left school in order to go to work and help pay Charles's

hospital bill. According to Charles and Mrs. Rocque, Maurice is very vivacious and fun-loving. Charles said that Maurice amuses the family by his clever imitations of people they meet. He is a good mixer, and, according to Mrs. Rocque, would make a good salesman. He is at present unemployed, but has been manager of the parts department in one of the large Ford agencies. Mrs. Rocque said he lost this job when the agency was turned over to a new manager and because the business fell off.

MARIE

Marie has accompanied Mrs. Rocque on some of her visits to Charles in the ward and is a bright-eyed, healthy-looking, little girl. She appears to be very fond of Charles and proud of his artistic ability. Charles said that she is quiet, like him.

REPORT OF RED CROSS

In 1924, telephoned Red Cross with regard to their clearing. They stated that Mr. Rocque's sister in Evanston, Illinois, referred family to local Red Cross through the Evanston Charities, because of Charles's burn. Mr. Rocque's sister, Mrs. Bauer, said that he had always held responsible positions but seemed unlucky. The visitor in the local chapter found that nothing could be done for Charles's scar and made efforts to help him develop artistically.

SUMMARY OF SOCIAL TREATMENT, FROM JULY 5, 1923, TO OCTOBER 15, 1926

Efforts were made to help Charles enter the field of commercial art by referring him to several artists in the city, by sending him to Dean Ames of the Art Institute with a letter of introduction, and by referring him with the following letter to the Warren Penfield Institute (a free, evening art school having the same faculty as the Art Institute).

MY DEAR MR. AMES: We have known the bearer, Charles Rocque, for nearly three years, and have tried in various ways to help him find employment in some kind of art work. When Charles was in the hospital two years ago we discovered that he possessed a talent for, and deep interest in, art. He had specialized in this in high school, and it was his ambition to make it his life work.

He made some very clever posters for us when he was in the hospital, which we used in our educational work with the diabetic patients. In the fall of 1925 he entered the Warren Penfield School, which he attended all that winter.

Though he made repeated visits to the various firms to which we referred him, and consulted Mr. Johnson of the Daily Press, he has been unable, so far, to find employment in the art field. He cannot afford to attend the Art Institute as a regular student as it is necessary for him to support himself. He is rather

shy and timid in his approach to strangers and is also greatly handicapped by a scar on his face, of which he is somewhat conscious. We have found him to be a fine, straightforward, dependable boy, and have known him to be conscientious in the positions he has held.

This week I went over to Technical High School, from which he graduated in June, 1923, and talked with his former art teacher, Miss Bogart. She said that Charles was an exceedingly talented and promising student, making excellent grades in his art work, and that she had always urged and advised him to make art his profession. She still feels that he should do so and that he will not only appreciate but will profit by any help given him.

Mr. Gregory, who is the teacher of commercial art at Technical High School, advised that we send Charles out to talk with you, and felt that you would be willing to advise him as to his plans for the future. Mr. Gregory said that in his opinion Charles should attend the Art Institute for a while, and try to secure part-time employment.

Inasmuch as you have been of such great assistance to other students who lacked sufficient money for an art education, he thought you might be willing to help Charles to make his plans.

Very truly yours, EMILIE KRAUSE, *Social Worker*

On August 18, 1924, Charles was referred to the state-city employment bureau for help in seeking employment; and on June 9, 1925, he was referred to the Civilian Rehabilitation Service for vocational training. The latter plan failed as he was not considered eligible for state training at that time.

WARD CALL

November 6, 1926.—In discussing with Charles the elements of his life which might encourage him and the things he still had to live for, the subject of religion came up. Charles stated that he was like his mother in that way and that neither of them was religious.

Worker's impression was the Mr. Rocque's intense religious interest somewhat disgusted Charles and may have tended to retard his religious development.

Charles had been very anxious to go home, thinking that his progress was too slow. He did not like Dr. Dixon, head medical resident, and had no confidence in him. This was made apparent by his constantly wishing for Dr. Fox, who had been resident during his previous hospitalization and who had won Charles's regard and affection. He was too ill to be interested in drawing and painting, and did little reading.

FURTHER MEDICAL INFORMATION

Dr. Dixon, head resident, medical service, reported that the lung abscess due to the Vincent's infection had practically destroyed the left

lung, and that it was necessary to keep Charles in the hospital longer in order that a wall might form around the cavities left in the lung, to remove some of the danger from further infection. Attention was directed toward building up his general body resistance, and his diet was somewhat raised. The diagnosis made in the hospital was: diabetes mellitus (coma), chronic nephritis, bronchopneumonia, lung abscess (Vincent's), and abscess of left parotid. He was discharged as "improved" and was instructed to return to the out-patient department.

Charles's prognosis is poorer than it ever has been; but, according to the doctor, it is impossible to predict the probable length of his life. If he takes good care of himself, he may live for years. When consulted about the advisability of having Charles go on with his education in art, the doctor gave his approval and said it might be possible for Charles to earn his living in this way, as he would be unable to do shop work. He said that Charles would be unable to work in the daytime and at the same time to go to night classes. The doctor also said that the family should not expect Charles to earn money for a long time and should encourage him to rest a great deal.

FINANCIAL DATA

November 17, 1926.—Discussed with Mrs. Rocque the family expenditures and income in relation to making a rate on Charles's hospital care. The family budget for food and clothing and a few extras, but not including carfare, electricity, and fuel, amounted to about \$34.00. This figure did not include Charles's diet and insulin; and Mrs. Rocque figures Charles's diet as costing a dollar a day, and his insulin, needles, alcohol, \$3.00 a week, so that Charles's expense for medicine and food is \$10.00 a week.

Recommended that a rate of \$2.00 per day and extras be charged.

TENTATIVE SOCIAL PLAN

Medical supervision of Charles to be continued by Mrs. Rocque's attending the diabetes class and Charles's coming when necessary for blood-sugars and chest examinations as soon as he is strong enough.

Encourage him to occupy himself with craftwork or painting and postpone attempts at vocational adjustment for the present.

HOME VISIT

December 24, 1926.—Called late in the afternoon with gift. Charles has been using the morris chair in the parlor during the day. He has been too weak to draw or paint very much, but showed worker the ship model

he had begun before entering the hospital and some wooden toys he had made at the same time for Bobby.

MEDICAL INFORMATION

December 28, 1926.—Mrs. Rocque has brought urine specimens to the diabetes class every two weeks. Charles has been sugar-free practically all the time since discharged from the hospital. His cough has continued, but the doctor felt he was getting along satisfactorily.

January 19, 1927.—Mr. and Mrs. Rocque brought Charles to the out-patient department as his cough seemed much worse. The examination made by Dr. Fox, instructor in medicine, showed there was a lung abscess, and hospital care was again recommended.

DISCHARGED TO PRIVATE PHYSICIAN

January 20, 1927.—Dr. Fox reported to worker that Charles was very reluctant to come into the hospital, as he had been so homesick before. His mother and father did not wish to go against his wishes because of his extreme illness, and approached Dr. Fox, who had cared for Charles during earlier hospitalization on the question of caring for him as a private patient. Knowing the financial situation, Dr. Fox hesitated to do this. Mr. and Mrs. Rocque said that Maurice had recently secured work and that he had offered to pay for Dr. Fox's care of Charles. As Dr. Fox realized that this would cost the family less than hospital care, and as Charles would be more contented, he agreed to make one visit a week, as he felt this would be adequate. Dr. Fox asked if possible worker continue the social treatment.

TENTATIVE SOCIAL PLAN

Keep in touch with Charles through Dr. Fox and occasional home visits, and resume vocational adjustment when his health permits.

March 28, 1927.—Letter written, recommending cutting Charles's hospital bill in half.

*Mr. John London, Business Agent
The Ohio General Hospital
Cleveland, Ohio*

MY DEAR MR. LONDON: Charles Rocque has been a patient in the Diabetes Class since 1923, and has been in the hospital twice before the admission last fall. Ever since we have known the family Mr. Rocque has been employed as a salesman, either of Ford trucks or tractors. Charles worked for a while in a radio store, and later on in his uncle's factory, but we were hoping to help him get into some kind of art work. He has been too ill to work ever since last September. Maurice left high school to go to work when Charles's diagnosis of dia-

betes was made because he felt the family needed his help. He found work in the Parts Department of the Ford Service Station. During the last summer and fall he was unemployed and trying to find work, but found none until the end of January.

During the fall and winter the family's income has been much below the average, as Maurice was not earning, and because Mr. Rocque's sales were not good. During the rush season he earns as high as \$40 or \$45 a week, but this does not last very long; he has not made more than \$25 a week for some time. He has had to borrow money for living expenses from the company quite frequently because of inability to sell trucks.

The family are living in the house of Mrs. Rocque's mother. They pay the taxes and repairs and maintain the mother, instead of paying rent for the house.

At the time of Charles's admission to the hospital his family thought they would be able to pay his bill at the above rate, but inasmuch as it amounts to \$132, and in view of their financial condition, they feel that they cannot pay all of it. Charles's insulin and diabetic diet are costing \$8 a week.

Shortly after Christmas, Charles's condition became worse, and the family brought him into the dispensary, where it was recommended that he be readmitted to the hospital. As Charles's prognosis is very poor, and as he was tired of hospital life and wanted to be at home, the family were reluctant to insist that he come in. The alternative was care in the home, and they asked that Dr. Fox take care of Charles as a private patient. Dr. Fox hesitated to do this knowing the financial situation, but finally consented to make one call a week, for which Maurice is paying. As a matter of fact, this is costing less than hospital care would cost, especially since the family could not begin to pay the full rate. Inasmuch as Charles has almost no insurance, and as his prognosis is poor, and his diet and insulin expensive, he is a source of continuous expense to the family.

In view of the foregoing, we recommend that the rate be reduced to \$1 per day and no extras.

Yours very truly, EMILIE KRAUSE, *Social Worker*

HOME VISIT

April 16, 1927.—Found Charles in a fairly cheerful frame of mind. He was so thin his clothes hung loosely about him; he had been too weak to do anything in the way of painting or drawing, but hoped to begin soon. Most of his time had been spent reading library books and magazines which Marie brought him.

MEDICAL SITUATION REGARDING CHARLES

May 5, 1927.—Dr. Fox stated that Charles is improving considerably and is well enough to visit the Art Museum on a day when the weather is good.

Dr. Fox spoke very highly of Mrs. Rocque's splendid care and devotion.

July 1, 1927.—Dr. Fox reported that Charles is very much improved and says he believes, from physical signs, that the lung tissue surrounding the cavity caused by the infection is beginning to harden so that danger of reinfection is lessened. Charles has gained considerably in weight and has felt so well that he has played tennis and has even gone swimming. Dr. Fox is very much encouraged about Charles's general condition.

He stated that Charles had made several ship models during his convalescence, and spoke highly of Charles's artistic talent.

HOME VISIT
FINANCIAL DATA

July 2, 1927.—Mrs. Rocque said that Mr. Rocque is still trying to sell the Auburn car but is not meeting with success. The family are depending on Maurice's wages, and Mrs. Rocque is rather worried about accepting all of Maurice's money, as she fears he will become discontented.

CHARLES

Charles was out playing tennis, and Mrs. Rocque directed worker down the street to the tennis court. Charles had gained considerable weight and looked like a healthy boy again. He returned with worker and modestly displayed his three ship models. One is a Spanish galleon, which he made according to instructions which he sent for from the *Popular Mechanics Magazine*. The ship took him five weeks to make, and he enjoyed working on it very much. Besides being artistic, it is very ingeniously and cleverly made; for example, the "dead-eyes," are made of slices of an ivory knitting needle through which little holes were burned to hold the ropes. Charles made it with no idea of selling it, but has since been advised that he ought to sell it and should get \$150 for it. He would be willing to take \$50. One of the ships is a Barbary pirate ship. It is smaller than the galleon and has two lateen sails. It is very pretty, the sails being dyed red. The third ship is a Norsemen's ship and is very decorative because of the rows of gold and black shields along both gun-wales and the green sail with a horse painted on it. Every detail has been carefully worked out, and Charles said that he would like to start another at once. He would be willing to bring the ships to the hospital to display them.

REPORT OF CIVILIAN REHABILITATION SERVICE

July 11, 1927.—Telephoned Mr. Marsh regarding the possibility of securing state aid in Charles's art education. Mr. Marsh stated that in

view of the poor prognosis and great expense of an art education, the state would not invest the money. The field of commercial art does not pay well, and positions are hard to get. Past experience has shown that such expenditures involve taking too much of a chance. However, Mr. Marsh offered to interview Charles, as he might be eligible for some other type of training.

ACTION TAKEN

Made an appointment for Monday morning, July 18, nine o'clock, for Charles to have a conference with Mr. Marsh.

July 13, 1927.—Called with Charles at the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Mueller, 6505 Lansing Avenue, worker's aunt and uncle. Mr. Mueller is a commercial artist, and Mrs. Mueller has had an art education and has kept up her art work. Mrs. Mueller talked with Charles about how to learn to sketch and the pleasure that can be had in sketching from nature. She showed him a large number of paintings that she and Mr. Mueller had made, and discussed their various points. She also gave him the title of a good but inexpensive book on water-color sketching. Mr. Mueller looked at Charles's posters and encouraged him to go on trying to find work either with an artist, with an engraving company, or a lithographing concern. He said that practical experience is the best start for an artist and that, if possible, it would be advantageous to go to the Art Institute later. He said that business is very slow in commercial art at present and that an opening would be very difficult to find but that, in view of Charles's talent and originality, he should keep trying to find an opening. He suggested that Charles take with him pieces of his work, that he make an original design and also make a copy of some advertisement, as these would give an indication of his ability. Mr. Mueller said that he would watch for any opening and would telephone Charles if he heard of one.

After leaving the Mueller home, worker arranged with Charles to bring the ships to the hospital on Saturday, July 16, in order to show them to the doctors and the volunteers, and to display them in the hospital library. Charles agreed to see Mr. Marsh on July 18. Letter written Mr. Marsh, introducing Charles.

TENTATIVE SOCIAL PLAN

If possible, discuss with Mr. Rocque advisability of seeking another kind of employment with steady wage or else returning to the selling of Ford cars if he can get an opening.

July 22, 1927.—Letter written recommending cancellation of Charles's hospital bill:

MY DEAR MR. LONDON: We wish to recommend that this account be cancelled.

Since our last letter, the patient has suffered from continued illness, and has recently had a gradual convalescence. His prognosis is still poor and his condition will not permit him to do any but the very lightest of work. The doctor feels he will soon be able to look for a position, but since he must do inside work that is not too confining, the chances are that he will have considerable difficulty in finding employment, especially since he is not trained for office work. He is talented artistically and wishes to enter the Art Institute, but business is poor in that field at present and does not pay well.

The family are practically supported by the brother, Maurice, who turns over all his wages. Mr. Rocque was formerly a Ford motor salesman, but as the Ford car business has dropped off considerably, he is now trying to sell a higher priced automobile, and is not meeting with success. As Charles's insulin and diet are a constant expense, he will continue to cost the family about \$7 a week more than if he were well.

In view of the above, we recommend that the account be cancelled.

Very truly yours, EMILIE KRAUSE, *Social Worker*

July 22, 1927.—Talked with Dr. Winters, assistant director of the hospital, about Charles, explaining his physical handicap, his scar, and also about his artistic talent, and asked whether it might be possible to interest one of the individuals who has in the past helped young men whom Dr. Winters has brought to his attention. Worker suggested that in this way it might be possible to secure funds to help Charles attend the Art Institute. Dr. Winters suggested that Charles come in to interview him.

Later.—Worker requested Charles to come in to see Dr. Winters.

Later.—Dr. Winters reported to worker that Charles had talked to him and that he had asked Charles to go to the Art Institute and secure information regarding the cost of tuition and expenses incidental to attendance there.

MEDICAL SITUATION REGARDING CHARLES

September 15, 1927.—Dr. Fox stated that Charles is in better physical condition than he has been for months. The lung tissue surrounding the cavity caused by the infection has become firm, and in Dr. Fox's opinion the danger from further infection is less than it has ever been. The next step in treatment will be to reduce the diet, bring down the blood sugar, in order that the amount of insulin can be cut and that the diabetic condition can be better controlled.

Dr. Fox felt that Charles's prognosis is better than it has been for

about eighteen months, and in his opinion Charles may go ahead with an art education. He did not feel that Charles could work in the daytime and go to school at night, and he advised that in either work or school it be arranged that Charles may move around occasionally. The work should not be hard nor too confining.

Dr. Fox said that Mr. Rocque had invented a cover for pillows to protect the ticking and feathers and to be put on underneath the slip. The idea had been suggested to him by a nurse at City Hospital. Mr. Rocque had been working on this for some time, and after various trials had worked out a washable cover. He had consulted Dr. Fox about having it used at Ohio General Hospital.

HOME VISIT

September 26, 1927.—Charles has been spending a great deal of time outdoors, playing tennis and coaching some neighborhood boys in football. He enjoys this as much as ever, and announced to Mrs. Rocque that he was planning to play in one or two games. Charles had made a small aeroplane model, but no other ships. He has spent a few weeks in the country with friends and seemed to be no worse for it. He looked very well and had a good color. He was in good spirits and did not appear to be worried about the future. Worker urged him to go out to the Art Institute and inquire about the cost of tuition and other expenses a student might have. He said he had not understood he was to do it from his talk with Dr. Winters.

Mrs. Rocque was out in the garden and said she felt well. She did not wish Charles to try to play football and said he should not do so unless Dr. Fox gave permission.

Mr. Rocque came home and, when asked, said he was planning to return to the sale of Ford cars as soon as the new Ford came on the market. He has not made a success of selling the Auburn.

He showed worker his invention and explained that its purpose is to prevent the pillows in hospitals from absorbing body odors, and also to prevent discharges from discoloring the ticking. Mr. Rocque said it would be especially useful when patients had wounds in the neck and head, or running ears. Mr. Rocque said that a nurse at City Hospital had told him that pillows often had an odor which a clean pillow slip did not remove, and that the renovation of pillows is expensive. He said that the covering would eliminate the need for frequent renovation. He has had a number of these covers made up but has not yet tried to market them. Worker suggested that, inasmuch as a City Hospital nurse had

given him the idea, he take his invention to Mr. Gallagher, superintendent of City Hospital, as a first prospect.

DISPENSARY INTERVIEW

September 29, 1927.—Charles came in to see Dr. Winters, assistant director, to discuss with him the cost of an art education. As Dr. Winters had planned to get in touch with Charles about painting some signs in the corridors and out-patient department, he grasped the opportunity to discuss this with Charles. Charles did not bring up the subject of the Art Institute but fell in with Dr. Winter's plans and accepted this opportunity for employment.

The day after worker's visit, Charles had gone to the Art Institute and made inquiry as to tuition and incidental expenses.

DISPENSARY INTERVIEWS

Charles's employment at the hospital continued for ten days or two weeks. During this time worker had several short conferences, and in the last of these urged Charles to talk with Dr. Winters about the information he had secured at the Art Institute.

October 17, 1927.—Mrs. Rocque stopped in to say that Mr. Rocque had been admitted to Army Hospital.

REPORT FROM ARMY HOSPITAL

October 19, 1927.—Miss Martin, social worker, reported that tentative diagnosis is gastric ulcer.

DISPENSARY INTERVIEW WITH MRS. ROCQUE

November 1, 1927.—Mrs. Rocque had just been to see Mr. Rocque and said he is very sick. She said that specialists had been called into the Army Hospital for consultation and that she had talked with the house doctor afterward and received the impression from him that Mr. Rocque has cirrhosis of the liver.

Mrs. Rocque said that Mr. Rocque had not been ill since he had yellow fever when in service in Cuba.

A few weeks before entering Army Hospital he had refused his supper and had vomited blood. He went to the Veterans' Bureau and had an examination and X-rays and was told that no trouble could be found. Some time later he had a recurrence and on again going to the Veterans' Bureau was advised to enter Army Hospital for diagnosis.

Mrs. Rocque said that Mr. Rocque had worried considerably because he was not contributing to the family's support; and Mrs. Rocque, who has never displayed emotion in her contacts with worker, wept

when she said that Mr. Rocque was regretting the fact that he would not be at work when the new Ford automobile was put on the market.

MR. ROCQUE'S RELIGION

About four years ago, Mr. Rocque was converted and became a New Thought believer. He believes in it very strongly and attends the meetings at the B. of L.E. Auditorium. He has tried to persuade the children to attend. During Charles's illness, he believed that the flowers taken from the altar would have a healing power if placed near Charles. Several times during Mr. Rocque's illness, Mrs. Rocque has met one of the women from the church coming to call on Mr. Rocque, but said that Mr. Rocque has not derived much comfort from her. Before his conversion he attended the Presbyterian church occasionally with Mrs. Rocque and the children.

RELIGION OF MRS. ROCQUE AND CHILDREN

Mrs. Rocque said that her mother was a Roman Catholic and attended Saint Prokup's Church. When Mrs. Rocque was a child, there was trouble in the parish and the church was stoned and windows broken. Her mother left the church at that time and attended a Presbyterian church, to which Mrs. Rocque was also sent. Since that time, Mrs. Rocque has always been a Presbyterian and has sent her three children to a Presbyterian Sunday school near West 38 Street and Spaulding Avenue. This church was a sort of mission of Pilgrim Church, but the church services are held in Slovak. Maurice and Marie still attend the Sunday school, but Charles has not been regular since he was first taken sick with diabetes.

CHARLES

Mrs. Rocque said that Charles is very timid and lacks "push." He is easily imposed upon by his employers; as, for example, when he was employed by the Hirsch Radio and Supply Company, he worked overtime every night, seldom reaching home before 8:00 or 8:30 and received no extra pay for it. At that time he was trying to attend the Warren Penfield Institute and found it very difficult to get to class; even though he worked during his lunch hour, he was never able to leave on time.

Worker suggested that Mrs. Rocque and Charles and she confer with Mr. Marsh of the Civilian Rehabilitation Service regarding some kind of vocational training for Charles, inasmuch as the family now need Charles's earnings. Mrs. Rocque said she would talk with Charles about what he would like to do and his feeling about giving up for the present

at least, the prospect of an art education, which would entail a great deal of expense and a long time.

REPORT FROM ARMY HOSPITAL

MR. ROCQUE'S MEDICAL CONDITION

November 3, 1927.—Miss Martin, social worker, telephoned that Mr. Rocque's condition is very serious and that the doctors do not believe he will ever return home. The tentative diagnosis is cirrhosis of the liver, and the prognosis for recovery is very poor. The prognosis for life is not known.

The doctor reported to Miss Martin that Mr. Rocque has a very fine feeling toward his family and that he does not feel that worry entered into his condition.

FINANCIAL DATA

Miss Martin stated that Mr. Rocque had been getting a pension from the government, amounting to \$20 a month. She will inquire whether this pension will devolve on his widow in case of death.

[To be continued]

LAKESIDE HOSPITAL
CLEVELAND, OHIO

AGNES SCHROEDER

NOTES AND COMMENT

ALL who were fortunate enough to attend the Fifty-fifth National Conference of Social Work at Memphis came away full of praise for the work of the president, Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, of Philadelphia, and our still comparatively new secretary, Mr. Howard Knight, and the local committee, headed by Miss Mary Russell. While they were not responsible for the week of delightful weather, they were definitely responsible for a very thoughtfully worked out series of programs and such careful planning with regard to time and place as to reduce the wastage of time and the fatigue of getting from meeting to meeting, in particular in getting out of the wrong meeting and into the right one, almost to a minimum.

A brave effort was made by all concerned to meet the demand of the Conference that its colored members shall not be met by humiliating color lines. The increase in the colored membership of the Conference makes it more difficult each year for the Conference to go South unless this demand can be met. Every effort is made to shut the door securely on the skeleton in the closet, but each year it becomes more difficult to keep it shut. Able young colored men and women have been quick to see the new opportunities that have been opened to them in social work in the South as well as in the North, and the principle of being entirely just to all its members regardless of creed or color is one that a conference of social workers cannot yield without an uneasy conscience. The Memphis experience was on the whole a very encouraging one and full of hope for the future.

There were so many high spots in the conference that they cannot be dealt with in this brief notice. A friendly contest for the presidency between the University of Chicago School of Social Service and the New York School of Social Work resulted in the defeat of Miss Breckinridge and the election of Mr. Porter R. Lee by a close vote. Other new officers include three vice-presidents, C. C. Carstens, of New York, James L. Fieser, of Washington, and Mary Russell, of Memphis, and new members of the executive committee, Jane Addams, J. Prentice Murphy, Miriam Van Waters, Owen R. Lovejoy, and Frank J. Bruno. The conference will meet in San Francisco in 1929. The time of the meeting has not been definitely set, but the forecast is late in June.

THE annual meeting of the American Association of Social Workers has come to be the most important of the "kindred group" meetings of the Conference. This year the Association heard a very important report by Mr. John Fitch, representing the Committee on Personnel Practices, and an equally important report by the Committee on Revision of Membership Requirements which had held a meeting in Chicago in March to work over the tentative proposals for tightening up the educational requirements for membership in the Association. The agenda also included a report on the census by Miss Lundberg and a report by Mr. Lurie on "Standards in Public Agencies" and a very encouraging financial statement by Mr. Elwood Street. The new officers include the following: president, Frank J. Bruno, of St. Louis; vice-presidents, Karl de Schweinitz, of Philadelphia, John Lapp, of Milwaukee, and Grace Marcus, of New York; secretary, Helen Crosby, of New York; treasurer, John Fitch, of New York; executive committee, Katherine Hardwick, of Boston, Walter Whitson, of Kansas City, Joanna Colcord, of Minneapolis, Harry Lurie, of Chicago, Dorothy Kahn, of Baltimore, and William Hodson, Stanley Davies, Neva Deardorff, and Linton Swift, all of New York City.

THE *Compass* has from time to time been bringing various other items of news to the members of the Association: (1) the new directory is out, and with 3,200 out of 4,000 members answering the call for a last correct address, the delay in publication is easy to understand. The directory contains the first published list of the various organizations represented by the membership; (2) a new chapter of the Association has been organized in Washington, D.C., with Dr. Edward T. Devine as chairman; (3) the Chicago chapter has been making a useful study of the possibilities of group insurance under the leadership of Dr. S. E. W. Bedford, research secretary of the United Charities; (4) the first of a new series of monographs is a study of social work interviews by a committee of the Chicago chapter under the chairmanship of Helen L. Myrick.

THE question "Should social agencies give relief to strikers?" has been discussed by A. J. Muste, of the Brookwood Labor College, in an important article in a recent issue of the *Family*. The position taken by many people that a strike should be regarded as a calamity similar to an earthquake, flood, or famine, is dealt with in some detail. The argument frequently made against giving relief is (1) that, whereas earthquakes and similar occurrences are "acts of God," strikes are willed and caused by human beings; and (2) that, if social agencies relieve dis-

trepreneur in strikes on the same basis as in the other instances named, they are in effect taking sides in an industrial dispute and possibly helping to drag it out. In commenting on this problem, Mr. Muste says:

If giving relief to the miners is taking sides with them and prolonging the strike, it is equally true that not giving relief, permitting them to be beaten back to work by starvation and at starvation wages, is taking sides with criminally negligent management or an equally negligent society, is prolonging the impossible basic conditions of which the strike is merely a symptom, and is postponing intelligent action about these conditions.

This subject is of such importance to social workers in the United States that it seems worth while to draw attention to English experience with the same problem. In England the issue is an old one, and certain definite principles for dealing with it have been adopted by the public authorities. Thirty years ago during a coal strike in South Wales, action was begun by one of the coal companies against the poor-law authorities who were giving relief to the striking miners and their families. The case was finally heard by the court of appeals (*Attorney General v. Guardians of the Poor of Merthyr Tydfil Union* [1900] 1 Ch. 516). The plaintiffs, who were, of course, the taxpayers of the district and were therefore in the position of being compelled to pay to support their own employees who were on strike, alleged that the public authorities had no right to give relief to miners or to any other able-bodied persons who could obtain work.

The authorities claimed that when a man and his family were starving and might die or be seriously injured unless relief were immediately given, then, as in any other case of sudden and urgent necessity, the authorities ought to grant relief even though the cause arose from the wilful refusal of the man to work, "for the punishment of such wilful refusal ought not to be the death or serious injury of the man, still less of his family." The plaintiffs had argued that some men were relieved for as long as twelve weeks in succession and such cases could not have been cases of urgency; and they said emphatically that "if a man is able to work, he is not entitled to relief if he will not work."

An interesting question raised by the authorities was whether "any single man could have obtained work though no doubt all of them together could have done so."

The court held that the authorities were justified in giving relief under the English poor law (1) to wives and children reduced to destitution by the strike; (2) to able-bodied men (non-strikers) who had been thrown out of work by the strike and were unable to obtain work while

it lasted. But the strikers themselves, according to the court, were not eligible for relief since they might have obtained work.

The evidence does not show that the colliers were physically too weak and ill to work, nor that any of them were prevented by fear of violence from accepting work within their reach. They are described as destitute, and in one sense they were so; they had neither food nor money. But they were able-bodied men physically well and able to work; and they might, if they had chosen, have obtained work at wages sufficient to support themselves and their families. [(1900) 1 Ch. 548.]

This decision has been cited frequently since the war in connection with the prolonged coal disputes in England. The Minister of Health has advised the poor-law authorities that under the *Merthyr Tydfil* judgment, relief may not be given to the miners themselves but only to their wives and children (Cmd. 1713, p. 87). In the last annual report of the chief medical officer of the Ministry of Health there is a section of special interest dealing with the coal strike and the wide-spread industrial distress which "almost necessarily gave rise to rather gloomy forebodings as to the effect which this might have upon national health and in particular upon the welfare of childhood. The reduction in the standard of living in many areas and the dependence of many families upon poor law relief, or other forms of assistance for so long a period suggests the probability of some physical deterioration." The report, however, claims that as far as infants and children are concerned, this anticipation was not realized, "largely no doubt because of the special efforts made to prevent the nutrition of growing children from deteriorating." To a not inconsiderable extent this was done by public funds. School children were provided with meals at school, and the distribution of free milk to nursing mothers and infants was largely increased in some areas. The report makes the interesting statement that "partly no doubt as a result of this, but partly perhaps because mothers, especially in mining areas, have had more time to devote to the care of their children, partly, again, because of the interest taken by officers of Local Authorities and by voluntary workers in the prevention of injury to the health of the child, the physique and vigour of children in many of the districts which have been most hardly affected are reported to be above the ordinary" (p. 148).

All of which is of interest in connection with the situation found by the Senate Investigating Committee in the Pennsylvania coal fields.

THE subcommittees on Child Welfare and on Traffic in Women and Children of the League of Nations Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People met in March, and the reports of these meetings are now available.

The Committee on Traffic in Women and Children had before it for the first time the second volume of the report of the Commission of Experts on the existence and character of the international traffic in women, which was released by the Council of the League last December.¹ The Committee also had before it a resolution adopted by the Eighth Assembly of the League requesting the Committee "to re-examine as soon as possible the question of the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of the system of licensed houses." This resolution was suggested by the findings of the Commission of Experts, which showed that licensed houses encourage and facilitate the international traffic in women. As the members of the subcommittee include representatives of the governments of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Poland, Rumania, and Uruguay, the two national policies—abolition and licensing—are fully represented on the Committee. The anti-abolitionist nations wish to be allowed to continue the policy of licensing houses of prostitution without any unpleasant international discussions. Nevertheless significant progress has been made. Five years ago they voted against the investigation of the international traffic by an expert commission when it was first proposed, and they have attempted at previous meetings to prevent any discussion of the system of licensing by urging, unsuccessfully, that it was outside the competence of the Committee.

The decision of the Committee this year shows that the struggle between the two viewpoints within the Committee continues. The lead of the assembly resolution was not followed. Instead the Committee resolved "that in countries where the system has long been in existence it is important that the public should whole-heartedly agree to the necessity of bringing it to an end." The British, German, and Danish official representatives objected to this statement. Other delegates, without expressing any definite view on this question, urged the necessity of putting their governments in possession beforehand "of information as to the legislative and administrative measures taken by countries in which the system had been abolished." France, in particular, is apparently determined to resist to the bitter end the movement to abolish the system of licensed brothels, and French lead is followed by the other anti-abolitionist countries, in particular by Italy, Japan, Rumania, and Spain.

The Committee unanimously adopted a resolution² expressing the hope that the "governments of all the countries which still retain the licensed house system will investigate the question as soon as possible

¹ See this *Review*, II (March, 1928), 166.

² *Report of the Seventh Session, Publications of the League of Nations*, IV, Social (1928), IV, 13, p. 4, Resolution 9.

in the light of the report made by the Body of Experts and the other "information collected by the League of Nations," and in order "to facilitate this investigation" the Committee requested the League secretariat "to make a study of the laws and regulations in force in those countries where the system has been abolished."

After discussion of the report of the Commission of Experts, the Committee recommended that its investigations should be continued and expressed "the hope that the necessary funds will be forthcoming."¹ Whether the investigation should be extended to the countries not included in the previous investigation, particularly the oriental countries, or whether more intensive studies should be made in countries already visited but not thoroughly covered by the investigators, will be on the agenda of the next session of the Committee.

The Child Welfare Committee had before it several interesting reports, notably the *Study of the Position of the Illegitimate Child according to the Information Sent in by Governments*,² prepared by the social section of the League, a report by the International Labour Office on *Family Allowances in Relation to the Physical and Moral Well-Being of Children*,³ and a summary of the replies to the 1927 questionnaire on the Cinema,⁴ together with a report on the work of the Child Welfare Committee on the Cinematograph Question, by M. F. Martin, *rapporteur*, as well as a memorandum of some length on the subject "The Mental and Physical Recreation of Children,"⁵ prepared by Dame Katherine Furse, one of the assessors of the subcommittee on Child Welfare.

DEMOGRAPHERS, neo-Malthusians, and other students of population will be interested in a recent article in *Difesa Sociale* by the distinguished statistician, Professor Alfredo Niceforo, of the University of Naples, dealing with the increase in population in Italy.

Professor Niceforo goes back to the days of Augustus, when the territory now known as Italy boasted only seven million inhabitants. If this ancient imperial population be represented by 100, then the Italy of 1925 with her thirty-nine million people would be represented by the number 553. Not content with limiting himself to two periods so remote from one another, Professor Niceforo quotes population figures for the glorious Cinquecento, for the eighteenth, the nineteenth, and the twentieth centuries. He warns the reader against accepting too credulously any of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3, Resolution 8.

² *Publications of the League of Nations*, IV, Social IV, 3 and 12.

³ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

figures he gives for the years prior to 1861, when the first official census was taken, and he makes it clear that his figures have been corrected wherever necessary to include the territorial limits of pre-war Italy (1914 boundaries).

Some of the facts brought out by Professor Niceforo's tables and discussion are: (1) The fifteen centuries between Augustus and Michelangelo produced in Italy a population increase of not more than 60 per cent. (2) The eighteenth century was the first to witness any noteworthy increase in population, the number of people in Italy being augmented by 37 per cent during that period. (3) Beginning with the nineteenth century, the population count leaped upwards; from 1800 to 1925 the increase was as 100 to 214. (4) The density of population mounted from 39 per square kilometer in 1550 to more than 130 in 1927.

These general comparisons of population are followed by a more detailed examination of the birth and mortality rates. For this purpose, in order to eliminate the demographic distortions caused by the war, Professor Niceforo confines himself to the period beginning 1873 and ending 1912. During these forty years the number of births within the kingdom remained constant—roughly, a million each year. Despite this fact the population steadily mounted, standing in the ratios 100 to 125 as between the beginning and the end of the period. The real birth-rate, then, has materially decreased, since the twenty-seven million inhabitants of the first quinquennium (1873-77) produced as many offspring as the thirty-four million inhabitants of the last quinquennium (1908-12).

The increase in population, therefore, can only be explained by a decrease in the number of deaths, since immigration has been a negligible factor for centuries. The mortality figures support this hypothesis. The first quinquennium of the period shows 800,000 deaths per year in a population of 27,000,000, as compared with 700,000 deaths per year in the last quinquennium (1908-12) in a population of 34,000,000.

Professor Niceforo relates these facts to the higher standards of living ushered in by the nineteenth century. The amelioration of living conditions proceeded at a more rapid pace in the years between 1800 and 1925 than in the long centuries that elapsed between Charlemagne and Louis XV. Further than this, however, the author does not attempt to go. He refers, in passing, to Quetelet's rule and to the curve developed by Verhulst and Pearl, but he insists that his task has been only to compile the statistics, not to interpret them. This decision on his part must be a matter of regret to his readers. Professor Niceforo is obviously at home in the fields of mathematics and demography, and it seems unlikely that

he has not constructed interesting hypotheses and drawn provocative conclusions from the data he has so painstakingly assembled. The question that inevitably suggests itself is whether these conclusions would perhaps not have correlated well with current governmental policy.

THE new French Social Insurance Law is a sweeping measure that will affect the lives of something like ten million people and will call for a fund of ten billion francs. France has followed very slowly in the wake of German and English experiments in the field of social insurance; but the new measure, so long delayed, is a very comprehensive one, providing sickness, invalidity, old age, and life insurance, as well as some provision for maternity. The French plan borrows both from the German and the English systems. Under the provisions for sickness insurance, medical care is furnished not only to the worker but to his wife and his children under sixteen. In the compulsory insured group, the worker contributes 5 per cent of his wages and the employer must contribute the same amount. There will be widespread interest in this great extension of the insurance principle, and French administration of the new law will be carefully watched.

SOME interesting measures have been passed in Austria providing for the protection of the health of young workers, which suffered as the result of post-war conditions. Two weeks of annual vacations with pay for all workers under sixteen (one week for workers over sixteen) are now required. Vacation houses for young workers, supported mainly by public social-welfare agencies, have been established by the Ministry of Social Welfare. Persons unable to pay are maintained free of charge; others pay a nominal fee. Medical supervision is provided free. The municipalities and the continuation-school authorities provide arrangements for athletics, hiking, and other health-promoting activities for young workers.

THE National Crime Commission has released a brief report drafted by its Sub-Committee on Pardons, Parole, Probation, Penal Laws, and Institutional Correction on the *Relation of the Police and the Courts to the Crime Problem*. The composition of this sub-committee gives significance to any report signed by the members, among whom are former Governor Frank O. Lowden, Dr. Louis N. Robinson, President Arnold Bennett Hall, Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, and former Governor Charles S. Whitman.

The points emphasized in the report include (1) the small number of criminals apprehended by the police; (2) the small number of those caught who are convicted; (3) the lack of police in rural areas; (4) the poor

quality of the police in some cities; (5) the inefficient organization of the police force in some communities; (6) the failure to act on the part of the prosecuting authorities; (7) the poor character of the inferior courts in which the great number of offenses are tried; and (8) the abuse of the bail system.

The sub-committee has made no independent investigation but has brought together figures from such recent studies of criminal-justice administration as the Cleveland and the Missouri crime surveys.

In addition to these points that are made in every survey, the committee calls attention to certain archaic features of criminal-law administration, namely, the delay connected with the grand jury, the verbose and cumbersome phraseology of the usual indictment, and the contentious character of much of the legal practice in which the part taken by the judge in the direction of trial seems to the committee far less significant than might well be taken.

The committee contrasts the efficient organization of modern business with the inefficient lack of organization of the law enforcing authorities, implying, as is often alleged, that the group who profit from this lack of organization are the professional criminals. If the report had been entitled "The Disorganized State of the Law-Enforcing Authorities and Its Possible Effect on Crime," the contents of the document would have been more correctly indicated; but it is valuable to have the material assembled made more widely available under any title.

CO-OPERATIVE concern over the unemployment situation in the late winter in New York led to an important conference on unemployment called by the Welfare Council to consider what steps might be taken to relieve the situation. The Research Bureau of the Council undertook a rapid inquiry into the situation as it was affecting its member agencies and secured returns from voluntary employment agencies, the state employment service, family welfare agencies, and those dealing with seamen and homeless men. Employment agencies were asked to report on the number of applicants for work and placements as compared with a year before, and the welfare organizations on the number of cases under care, the number receiving relief, and the expenditure for relief as compared with the previous year. Fifty-one agencies with sixty-nine departments assisted by forwarding reports.

Some seventy-five agencies were represented at the conference. The memorandum prepared by the Research Bureau and distributed at the meeting showed a serious falling off in placements of workers in jobs and

an increase in the number of homeless men, seamen, and families applying for assistance. The general industrial situation was summarized by John B. Andrews, of the American Association for Labor Legislation. The conference went on record as favoring the Jones bill before Congress "to create a prosperity reserve and to stabilize industry and employment by the expansion of public works during periods of unemployment and industrial depression," and voted to appoint a permanent committee representative of the public and private agencies in New York City federated in the Welfare Council "to study further the present unemployment conditions, to make plans for action to relieve the present emergency situation, to co-operate with the New York State Department of Labor, to consider any other measures recommended at this meeting and to take steps for preventing future similar situations."

At the request of Governor Smith, a committee was appointed to co-operate with the state commissioner of labor in the brief survey of unemployment conditions in the state he was making for the Governor's guidance; and the result of this co-operation was that a special memorandum was prepared by the Council's Research Bureau summarizing the situation as reported by the welfare agencies and the facts on the general industrial situation as brought out in its conference. Senator Wagner of New York made use of this memorandum in his speech in Congress on unemployment, quoting from it at considerable length.

On receipt of the Commissioner's report, showing an unemployment situation worse than any time since the depression of 1921, the Governor called upon the heads of the state departments to speed up all public works and sent copies of the report to mayors of cities and the chairmen of county boards of supervisors throughout the state, suggesting to them a like policy with reference to their local improvements. In New York City the immediate possibilities in the speeding up of public works were studied at the request of the Mayor, and substantial amounts were released for this purpose.

DR. RUTH WEILAND, of the German Red Cross, has sent us an interesting summary of two recent articles in *Soziale Praxis*, Jahrgang XXXVI, Nos. 8 and 10, dealing with the subject, "Men in Social Work." The first of these articles is written by Adele Beerensson, the chief secretary of the German Association of Women Social Workers, whose opinions are summarized as follows:

In recent years many men have called themselves social workers without having the same training as women social workers and without the state certificate for social work. The untrained man is rather a difficult problem in Ger-

many, because many state or municipal officials with administrative training consider themselves fitted for social work as well as for other departments of civil administration: finance, gas and electricity, or taxation. They know of, course, that they cannot make home visits to look after foster children or hold office hours for unmarried mothers, but they believe themselves competent for all *Innendienst*, that is, all work that must be done in the office. They wish to receive the written reports of the social field worker and then decide upon the form of assistance to be given without regard to the opinion of the social worker. Under such an arrangement the social worker would only serve as the investigator for an official superior. Of course this would be not only very unsatisfactory for her, but also very detrimental to social work. It is important that all the work for one family or one individual should be kept in the hands of one trained social worker who may call on others for assistance on special questions. But in no case should an untrained official decide upon the means of helping any indigent person.

The German women social workers, however, think that trained men have an important task to fulfil in social work. In particular they are needed as probation officers for boys; in playground and recreation work; in vocational guidance work; in employment bureaus for young persons; and in other branches of economic and labor welfare work. But they neither are fitted for family work nor have a special claim on the executive positions only.

There is a school of social work in Berlin for men, the Seminar für Jugendwohlfahrt, under Dr. Karl Mennicke. His school probably will soon secure the state certificate for training social workers, who after two years of training can take the state examination. In Saxony men can enter all schools of social work and are admitted to the state examinations if they have the necessary professional or scientific pre-school training. As long as equal training for men and women does not exist in Germany and as long as the state examinations for men vary in the different German states, the organizations of women social workers do not wish to unite with the one existing men's organization, since it accepts untrained as well as trained men as members.

In the second article Dr. Otto Grabe writes as a representative of the men social workers who believe in better training for men as well as for women. He reproaches the municipalities because they pay the officials who deal with social work so little that they are not interested in better training, and he also charges that the municipalities do not make training compulsory for officials who are employed in social work departments. Very often an official who has only administrative training receives a higher salary than a trained social worker, whose education took much more time.

IN HONOR of the joint seventieth birthday of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, it has been arranged to have a joint portrait of them painted to be placed in the Founders' Room of the London School of Economics. A letter announcing the plan has been signed by Sir William Beveridge,

director of the London School, Gilbert Murray, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, and other distinguished men and women. Sir Josiah Stamp is acting as treasurer of the portrait fund, and checks may be sent to him at the London School of Economics, Aldwych, London. Interesting accounts have come from England of the celebration of Mrs. Webb's birthday by the Fabian women's group. In response to the congratulations offered her, Mrs. Webb made a most interesting speech, in which she dealt reminiscently with the early days of the Fabian Society. She said of the Fabian group that they had "a charming collective personality that had lasted nearly half a century." There are many friends and admirers of Mr. and Mrs. Webb this side of the Atlantic who will be glad to have an opportunity of expressing appreciation of their long service to the cause of social reform and their great enduring contributions to social politics and the history of social institutions.

ON EASTER MONDAY, when Helene Lange, pioneer in women's education in Germany, was eighty years old, a program in her honor was given by the German woman's movement and the German academic women. Held at the Rathaus in Charlottenburg, one of the largest suburbs of Berlin, where space was strictly limited, it was nevertheless attended by more than four hundred women, leaders representing all divisions of women's activities in Germany. An address on "The Heritage and Future of the Woman's Movement" was given by Dr. Gertrude Bäumer, of the Ministry of the Interior, the leading woman in German welfare work. This was followed by a series of "Living Pictures," from the history of Helene Lange, which showed many episodes in her life, including the scorn of the *dozent* and young men students at her thirst for knowledge.

So great was the interest in the eightieth birthday of Helene Lange that a second celebration was held during the following week. To this came, from all parts of Germany, important professional women who had been her students. There were also representatives of schools for girls named for her throughout Germany. The town in which she was born sent a representative with the message that she had been made an honorary citizen of the town. The University of Tübingen, from which she had been given an honorary doctorate, sent a member of the faculty with greetings.

Born in Oldenburg in North Germany in 1848, the great year of German political idealism, Helene Lange early showed signs of independence of thought and love of liberty. She grew up in a period of active discussion of the aims and conflicting points of view of orthodox Christian feeling,

classical philosophy, and the materialism of natural science. It was a time when the influence of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, and Kant was still fresh and strong. However, it was the period, also, of Nietzsche and Treitschke; and many young men imbibed the philosophy of political reaction and economic materialism. Helene Lange, exposed to the liberal influences felt the effects of reaction upon the educational opportunities of women. Early in her life she became interested in the freedom of women, and she devoted her energies to their educational emancipation. She saw that the better the education provided for the men, the wider the gap between them and the women who were without equal opportunities. Personally she studied where she could, attending lectures in the universities when permitted to do so. Women were, of course, not granted degrees by the universities at that time.

She helped to establish a preparatory school of sufficiently high character to enable its graduates to qualify for the universities. She was one of the founders of the women teachers' organization, which aided in establishing professional standards for women teachers and in the development of their professional pride. She also founded *Die Frau*, the first magazine of the German women's movement and today its leading organ.

She was interested in the whole German woman's movement and was at one time president of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein. Her great service to the woman's movement, however, has been through the promotion of women's education. That her work has not yet been finished is indicated by the relatively small numbers of women who attend the German universities today. Her friends in all parts of the world wish for her many more years of generous and noble service.

THE International Red Cross on May 8, 1928, honored the centenary of its founder, Jean Henri Dunant, who was born in Geneva in 1828. Dunant's great services to mankind began in the year 1859, when his travels in Lombardy accidentally made him a spectator of the dreadful battle of Solferino. A tourist near a battlefield where 40,000 men were dead or dying, Dunant organized a band of peasant women and girls to go with him to the field of battle where corpses of men and horses were "as if sown along the roads and in the hollows, the thickets, and the fields." In spite of the primitive impulse of the women to help only their own and to succor the French and Italians instead of the Austrians, Dunant persuaded them to help both friend and foe. His epoch-making book *Un Souvenir de Solferino* first published in 1862, suggested the organization of societies to provide nursing and medical services during war,

and in time of peace to offer aid in great disasters and epidemics. What followed is well known. The Society of Public Utility of Dunant's native city became interested in the idea, and a preliminary conference in 1863 was followed by the organization of the International Red Cross in 1864.

THE founder of the garden city movement, Sir Ebenezer Howard, died last month (May, 1928) at his home in Welwyn, the newest of the English garden cities. Howard had the distinction of writing the first book that set out a practical scheme for garden city planning. His *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, a small volume published in 1898, led to the formation in the following year of the Garden City Association, which sponsored the establishment of Letchworth. At the time of his death, at the age of seventy-eight, he was still a director of the Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City Associations, and he was also president of the International Federation for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities.

THE death of Louis F. Post is a loss to all liberal movements. He had been known as an able and courageous editor for many years before he went to Washington as the assistant secretary of labor in 1912. He served in this position throughout the two Wilson administrations and won national recognition for his fine courage and devotion to justice and truth. His book *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty* is a unique record of the way in which one administrative officer did his duty regardless of the attacks of Congressional politicians and reactionary newspapers. Because he refused to allow subordinate public officials illegally to deport peaceful alien workers, he was threatened with impeachment. The "Hearings in the Trial of Louis F. Post" remain a magnificent record of public service. The complete manuscript record of his experience in the immigration battle of 1919 has been deposited in the library of the University of Chicago, where it will remain permanently accessible to students of administrative problems. The many friends of Louis F. Post—and they are scattered far and wide in this and other countries—remember him not only with great respect but with deep affection.

BOOK REVIEWS

Child Guidance. By SMILEY BLANTON and MARGARET GRAY BLANTON.
New York: Century Co., 1927. Pp. 301. \$2.25.

The Blantons begin their work by stressing the importance of infantile years and the need of education for mental health in that period. "Mental characteristics may have their inherited background, but they require a certain type of environment in order to bring them out." Since the environmental factors are the only modifiable ones, the authors try to envisage problems as environmental ones whenever possible.

As contrasted with similar books, the Blantons' *Child Guidance* is featured by concrete suggestions, such as the details of nursery furniture and the number of gifts advisable for Christmas; by more tolerance than usual to training through corporal punishment; by more frequent emphasis on speech disorders resulting from emotional difficulties; by bringing into dietary consideration the post-infantile period. The book is valuable for its practical suggestions in routine handling, especially in the motor and sensory development of the infant. The point of view, though influenced by psychoanalysis (e.g., chapter on "Sleep") and the work of A. Adler (e.g., chapter on "Feeding"), is generally behavioristic (Watson).

There are three parts. Part One deals especially with the "habit" problems of infancy: sensory and motor training, speech development, sleep, feeding, excretion. Part Two deals with the more social aspect of child life: group play, parties, discipline, sex life; also, there are chapters on "Nervousness" and "Intelligence Tests." Part Three comprises six of the entire twenty-one chapters and lists a number of personality traits—a section of less practical value than the rest.

With regard to eating, they advise that it should not be made a game or social event or conference or battle. Lay special stress on this as an act of training, stressing also the intermediate diet, that is, the dietary between infancy and the adult type of diet. For the lazy eaters and the children who refuse food, the Blantons (1) attempt to change the attitude of the parent, which is often overly anxious; (2) show how the child uses the feeding act as a means of bossing the situation (for the latter condition the nursery school is recommended); and (3) suggest, in the case of children who eat too little owing to lack of sympathy of a parent, a cure effected by straight discipline.

In training the child's excretory functions, the advice is to chart the cycle, noticing what brings on elimination, then putting the child on the stool using the stimulus which previously worked. Bed-wetting was cured by a method of discipline, aided by removing water and excitement and by direct suggestion.

One of the best chapters is that on "Sleep." The chief cause of poor sleep is bad experience with sleep. It may be due often to sex curiosity. In this chapter dreams are taken up in the Freudian manner.

The child should not be persuaded to read until school age (chap. vi) because interest in reading rules out more important muscular activities, even spontaneous language. Listening to speech and the development also of musical ability are stressed. In sensory learning the Montessori type of training is used. As preventives of learning to walk (chap. vii) we are warned against the slippery floor, stiff-soled shoes, prevention of crawling, and fussing over a fall.

Lack of speech development (chap. viii) in intelligent children may be due to negativism. The Blantons use Thorndike's list of one hundred most frequent words in teaching children delayed in speech. The chapter on "Speech Disorders" is the strongest one in the book.

In the chapter on "The Nursery" many practical points are given as to its construction, furniture, color, and so on. The authors emphasize the value of allowing the child its own room with properly proportioned furniture and cite the case of a girl, timid and stuttering because the bed and chairs were all too high. The big advantage of the child's own room is the absence of conflict with the adult. The foisting of the adult conception of pleasure upon the child is a cause of much difficulty: the auto trip, the strain of parties, the surprising number of "nervous breakdowns" in children after Christmas, the terrible holiday, and exciting movies. The Blantons go to the practical detail of limiting the number of presents to the child at Christmas to six; of allowing but one or two shopping trips, and no church visits except at Christmas time; and of not allowing children to go to adult parties (of the mother) until after age ten. The child should have a vacation from the parents, as well as the reverse.

Under the heading "Mysteries" are included the sex problems of the child and a simple classification of the emotional life. Such information should be given as soon as it can be intellectually comprehended; the child's emotions will take care of themselves. Never mind what the neighbors say, and don't leave out the male contribution to sex life. They emphasize the importance of avoiding the sentimental and religious phase of sex stories—a reaction probably to the oversentimentalizing and haloing of the normal sexual behavior in previous methods. Instruction is preferably by parents, if they can do it calmly. Children should be kept out of adult rooms. Evidence of sex tension is seen in excessive fondling or cruelty, anxiety to be near the parents at night, excessive masturbation. The latter habit is regarded as an unwholesome, unserviceable habit, never causing, however, insanity, feeble-mindedness, or nervous disorders. It is discussed with the child as a "childish" practice. Complete nakedness of parents and child are recommended up to age four to five. The Blantons believe in fairy tales as the right of childhood phantasy-life. In learning to adjust to the group, the child is taught very early to carry some responsibility. The child must help in some manner as early as possible (by three), help dress and undress, put its clothes in proper place, etc. In general, the Blantons be-

lieve in a fair degree of authority for the parent to which the child must respond implicitly. By five the child should have good excretory control, good food and sleeping habits, should dress and undress himself, and have implicit obedience to parents. To certain situations obedience should be automatic, those especially involving possible injury to the child, the ordinary conventions for which no particular reason can be assigned, and those situations interfering with the security and comfort of others. Rewards are used in training, in the form of absence of punishment, in gifts, in special privileges, and in approval. The best rewards are privileges. Approval includes stars on a chart.

Punishment always involves physical pain and has as its purpose a "change in the type of reaction." The types of physical punishment are sharp and short and effective. The Blantons use hand-slapping or slapping on the wrist or use a small leather strap on the bare calf of the leg—never the buttocks, nor any physical punishment before the second year nor after the eighth year. Examples of corporal punishment are given in the case of a baby of fourteen months who bites the mother on the neck. Physical punishment is thought to be most effective up to four and a half years. As an example of the use of discipline, a case may be cited (p. 201) in which a boy of three would undress himself in the front yard. This act was found to be stimulated by the presence of a little girl next door. When asked why he did this, the child replied, "Because my knee itched," which the Blantons think "shows fairly conclusively that he did not quite know himself why he did undress." This is by no means conclusive proof. In fact, the very reason the child gives seems to suggest that he knew it was something forbidden but did not know why and protected his behavior through the lie. The authors regard the act as one of pure innocence with no knowledge of a "moral problem" involved. On one occasion when the child exhibited himself he was taken upstairs and told that a person undressed in order to go to bed or take a bath or change his clothing and in order that he would remember he might "try all three." He was put to bed for five minutes and at the end given a thorough scrubbing with soap and brush which was made as unpleasant as possible, and then dried with a starched towel. After that he was dressed in stiffly starched clothing prepared for the occasion.

The Blantons say "the object was not to punish him by putting him to bed, but to help him remember the sequence in its logical form." Really the child was given three types of punishment that had as a possible effect the association of bed and bath as instruments of punishment and an overevaluation of nakedness. What the child received was three forms of punishment of a rather severe type. The fact that it worked doesn't mean necessarily that it was valuable treatment.

Nervousness is defined as "excessive activity of the nervous system resulting in a peculiar response to ordinary stimuli of life and showing itself in such symptoms as overactivity, over-talkativeness, temper tantrums, poor sleep, crying spells, irritability, or restlessness." The most frequent cause for such nervousness is erratic discipline. Other causes given are, especially, association with

adults or with too old playmates, and poor grading in school. Their treatment is always through building up of proper routine in the child in which one notes especially the omission of psychogenic factors, especially of the psychogenic factors in the parent. For example, take the case of Helen (p. 220) in which the difficulty arises from a mother's overambition for the girl with resulting pressure in school work, etc. Apparently in this case no effort was made to determine the development of the parent's attitude.

In the chapter on "Intelligence," there are very good case illustrations indicating difficulties resulting from lack of recognition of special abilities, through compelling children with high I.Q.'s to do inferior work, and children with low I.Q.'s to do superior work. The remaining chapters relate especially to the study of personality traits, and offer means of evaluating various traits in personality. The Blantons would have parents grade their children on a chart and make symptomatic treatment of the particular qualities in which they depart from the ideal norm.

In future editions of this practical handbook it is hoped that more space will be devoted to the parental contribution to the psychic life of the child.

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A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924. By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, Ph.D. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1926. Pp. vi+316. \$2.40.

The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. By WILLIAM I. THOMAS and FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1927. 2 vols.; pp. ix+2250. \$15; text ed. \$10.

Immigrant Backgrounds. By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1927. Pp. x+269. \$2.75; school ed. \$2.00.

Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith? By GERALD SHAUGHNESSY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. Pp. 289. \$2.50.

Immigration Restriction. By ROY L. GARIS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. Pp. xv+376. \$4.00.

Twenty-five years ago, Jane Addams chose for the title of an important public address, "Immigration: A Field Neglected by the Scholar." However true at the time she spoke, her charge is true no longer. Of the making of books about immigration there is no end, and scholars and reputed scholars and pseudo-scholars rub elbows with journalists and politicians in their haste to publish the next book on this subject. The five books listed above, which are all recent products of university scholarship, are only a few of the amazing number of new books in the field of immigration.

In the first, a careful historian presents a brief survey of the European background of eight of the principal immigrant groups; a history, likewise brief, of immigration problems in the United States from the close of the eighteenth

century down to the present day; two chapters on oriental immigration; and, finally, a select bibliography of twenty pages. One may differ with Professor Stephenson about the method of arranging his material, in particular about the division into Parts I and II, but the integrity of his work is unquestioned, and he has prepared a book of exceptional merit and usefulness.

Professor Fairchild also deals with immigrant backgrounds, but he has selected a group of fourteen collaborators, some of them immigrants and aliens themselves, to deal with the different groups. The result is a readable book, popular in character, but with slight bibliographical references and containing little that is new to the serious student.

The great work on *The Polish Peasant* by Thomas and Znaniecki will be welcomed in its new and cheaper edition, which will make this invaluable collection of documentary material more accessible to students. Among so many unique and significant documents, it is difficult to make a selection for special comment. The discussion of the function of the peasant letter is extraordinarily interesting, and some of the letters are of great value. Take, for instance, the charming letter (No. 5 in the "specimen" collection, pp. 311-13) written apparently by a scrub girl in a Chicago hotel that is almost lyrical

Dearest Olejniczka, I greet you from my heart and wish you health and happiness.
 The rain is falling; it falls beneath my slipping feet.

I do not mind; the post office is near.
 When I write my little letter
 I will flit with it there
 And then dearest Olejniczka
 My heart will be light [from giving you a pleasure].
 In no grove do the birds sing so sweetly
 As my heart, dearest Olejniczka, for you. . . .
 I went up on a high hill and looked in that far direction
 But I see you not
 But I see you not
 But I hear you not
 I greet you through the white lillies [of Easter]
 I think of you every night, etc.

The lengthy document called the "Life Record of an Immigrant," which constituted the third volume of the original edition, now appears at the close of the second volume. In spite of the valuable introduction contributed by the editors, this remains a document of questionable value. Is the life record of this Polish immigrant of sufficient value for any purpose to justify setting it out in all its sordid and frequently repulsive details through more than three hundred pages of small type? Certainly readers are not lacking who will vote an emphatic "No" to this question. The contrast between this document and the numerous letters and extracts from records is marked. In the first place there is no guaranty of its bona fides. The writer was "first induced to write his autobiography by a promise of money." In three months, a man, almost illiterate ("his systematic instruction stopped on the level of a primary country school

which under Russian domination included hardly anything more than reading and writing in Polish and Russian and some arithmetic") prepared a life-history running to twice the length of the published document. The editors may be justified in saying that he "does not seem to have intentionally lied" but a man not accustomed to writing could scarcely turn out 600 pages of reminiscences in three months that would be accurate and trustworthy. Certainly the detailed accounts of his amorous experiences might have gone into the limbo with the other three hundred pages which he wrote but which the authors decided to omit. It may seem carping to criticize any part of this great work, but certainly this last and too lengthy document mars the value of the collection as a whole.

Among the books listed, many readers will find Father Shaughnessy's *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* of special interest. Here the difficult question of the effect of migration on the immigrant's ancestral faith is discussed by a Catholic scholar who dedicates his book "to the American Hierarchy, the American Priests, and the American Peoples who under the Guidance of the Holy See Built the Church in the United States Better than They Knew." Father Shaughnessy has made careful statistical studies of the percentage of Catholics among our American immigrants at different periods and deals with the church in the colonial period and with the subject of Catholic growth decade by decade since the founding of the republic.

The phenomenon of Catholic growth in America he regards as without a parallel. "Not another instance in history is recorded, where millions of different races and nationalities, of varied natural prejudices and leanings, made their way to a strange country, not *en masse* but individually, there to build up what they found practically non-existent, a flourishing, closely knit, firmly welded Church in what was, and even today may be truthfully described as, otherwise a religious wilderness" (p. 268).

Father Shaughnessy's book gives an interesting illustration of the earlier problem of assimilation. He believes that "a remarkably large Catholic immigration has been successfully assimilated and provided for even though at times the immigration of a decade was almost equal to the number of Catholics already in the country, while in one instance it actually exceeded it." The Catholic population of the United States was 663,000 in 1840. In the following decade a net immigration of 700,000 Catholics is recorded (p. 267).

The book by Professor Garis entitled *Immigration Restriction* is chiefly useful because of his account of the quota and visa acts of 1921-24. The author's invitation to his reader "to think through the immigration question for himself, to free himself from bias, to seek only the truth," is somewhat marred by the fact that his Foreword is contributed by the arch advocate of restriction Chairman Albert Johnson of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. A plea for freedom from bias would be stronger if it were not immediately preceded by Mr. Johnson's redundant phrases about "the myth of the melting pot."

Professor Garis, however, appears to be as enthusiastic about the "percentum" method of regulation as the Chairman of the House Committee and,

in fact, it appears that the 1890 base was actually suggested or invented by Professor Garis himself. For we are told that "in a brief magazine article the author suggested as early as 1922 that a simple effective solution to the problem would be to adopt the census of 1890 instead of 1910 or 1920 as the basis for permanent legislation and future percentage laws" (p. 253). We are not surprised therefore that Professor Garis finds that "the two per cent law based on the census of 1890 limits qualitatively to a much higher degree as well as numerically within safe boundaries." As we read on, we almost hear the voice of Albert Johnson speaking—we find that Professor Garis considers the new law "a practical American solution. . . . Yet it has raised a storm of protest among the nations whose quotas it reduced. But this is the invariable effect of any legislative proposals that are frankly framed for the benefit of America and Americans rather than for Europe and Europeans." He also adds, "and yet, as in the case of any bill, the character of the opposition may be the strongest kind of evidence of intrinsic merit" (p. 253).

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EDITH ABBOTT

Social Work Publicity. By CHARLES C. STILLMAN. New York: Century Co., 1927. Pp. 254. \$2.25.

An extraordinarily valuable book for anyone concerned either in actually executing social work publicity or in directing its execution, or for students of the subject, is *Social Work Publicity* by C. C. Stillman, one of the Century Company's "Social Science Series." The book is written from the active experience of a man who has for many years been concerned in social work publicity, first as the executive of a family-case-work agency and most recently as a director of a community chest. Not only has he actually applied many of the ideas which he discusses in his book, but he has also for some years conducted a course in publicity at the summer training school for prospective community chest executives at Ohio State University. He thus has combined theory and practice in an unusually effective way.

Mr. Stillman has communicated the results of his theory and practice in the pages of his book most satisfactorily. He is a vigorous and colorful writer, and his book is more interesting from the point of view of style and expression than are most books either on publicity or on social subjects. The book is, moreover, illustrated with many vivid reproductions of various kinds of publicity.

The book is not only a good one for those actually engaged in social work publicity and its management but also would be useful to put in the hands of lay members of publicity committees who are concerned in helping to work out publicity programs for social agencies and community chests.

THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

ELWOOD STREET

Probation for Juveniles and Adults: A Study of Principles and Methods (The Social Workers' Library). By FRED R. JOHNSON. New York: The Century Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+242. \$2.25.

In this volume Mr. Johnson sets out briefly but comprehensively the essential facts in the development of probation and the principles that should govern the relationship between the probation officer and his ward. Mr. Johnson is fundamentally a case worker, and he not only sets out the principles of probation services as clearly an application of sound case work, but he includes ten interesting case records in the second part of the volume.

The material is presented in three parts: Part I contains a series of six chapters in which the writer discusses "The Nature and Development of Probation," "The Probation Officer," "The Selection of Probationers," "Supervision" (meaning the supervision that is part of case work, not supervision that is part of administration), "Some Administrative Problems," and "An Appraisal of Probation." At the end of each chapter a series of questions are proposed and an interesting selection of readings; in Part II, ten selected case records are presented; and Part III furnishes a series of appendixes dealing with the various standards of probation, the Michigan law, the Chicago merit system of selecting probation officers, and the views of a psychiatrist on punishment as compared with treatment.

Mr. Johnson has prepared a competent and stimulating volume, which should prove useful as a textbook in schools of social work or as a reference book for classes in sociology, the treatment of crime, etc. It is interesting and rare to find the skill of the case worker so constantly drawn upon in a study in this field, and it is also gratifying to have the discussion based on the recognition of sound principles of governmental organization. Mr. Johnson makes it very clear that in common with other public social services that are local in character, probation lacks certain essential features of progressive development. He says (p. 87) "finally, probation will not succeed if each court is isolated from every other court without the opportunity for interchange of ideas. Each must profit by the others' mistakes as well as by their successes, and to this end state bodies exercising some form of supervision are indispensable."

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Church in the Changing City. By H. PAUL DOUGLASS. New York: Doran Co., 1927. 8vo. Pp. xxxvi+453. \$4.00.

The present work differs from former studies by the same author in that, combining "the scientific method with the religious motive," it focuses investigation on such churches "as exhibit conscious urban adaptation." Sixteen different churches in the large cities of this country are intensively studied; and their contrivances, past and present, for adjusting themselves to changing neighborhood conditions and a shifting constituency are instructively set forth

through exhaustive analyses and statistics. It may confidently be said that the book is indispensable for the work of Protestant ministers (perhaps even Jewish and Catholic leaders) who stand at the helm of "downtown" or "stranded" churches in deteriorating neighborhoods. It is a mine of information respecting the make-up and residence of constituency, both of supporters and attendants, of forms and devices for service, for the recruiting of new members, the organization of staff, financing, church equipment, foreign-language mission work, etc. To the social scientist and field worker it affords graphic and accurate descriptions of the best types of "community service" church. For the lay reader who is acute and persevering enough to pry the meat from the shell, this study will serve to destroy some deep-rooted delusions; while at the same time it will rather enhance than depress his optimism regarding the ability of liberalized and socialized churches to outride the storms and stresses of present-day "materialism" and "unbelief."

Most of the churches studied are obviously "changing" churches; that is, their original genius is being seriously, sometimes unrecognizably, altered by adaptation. From the days of a strictly religious purpose, constituency, and program they have developed into semi-secular institutions occupying spacious and costly buildings on very valuable land in congested central portions of the city. They are decidedly *not* situated in what the author calls (p. 44) "the distinctively American sector of the city, the earthly paradise of successful people and the immediate heaven of the Protestant churches." They have large staffs of workers; most of those they attract and serve pour through their doors on weekdays to attend clubs, classes, "gym" contests, clinics, and the like, rather than religious services or instruction. Such churches have really become community, rather than denominational, centers, even though in many cases their work is more or less subsidized by the home mission boards. It is interesting to note the forms of social work they do. A table of activities (p. 445) maintained by the twenty-six churches studied shows that athletic work or games go on in 24; Boy Scouts or the equivalent in 23; gymnasium instruction, 19; Girl Scouts or the equivalent, 18; motion picture programs, 15; boys' clubs, 13; library, 13; parents' organizations, 11; vacation or outing farms or camps, 11; employment agency, 11; music classes, 10; community dramatics, 9; sewing or millinery classes, 8; homemaking classes, 7; English classes for foreigners, 7; forum, 6; health classes, 6; kindergarten, 6; systematic vocational advice, 5; civics or economics classes, 4; visiting-nurse office, 3; dispensary or clinic, 3; day nursery, 2.

It appears, however, that in most cases there are no workers on the staff with thorough training in social science and service. The high salaries and titles seem to go to ministers with a more or less haphazard training in these fields. As to the subsequent quality of the social work of such churches, one is left to conjecture. It is noteworthy also that the churches studied are unusually well represented on the boards of various philanthropic institutions. This is probably vestigiary from the days when these were pre-eminently "family" churches—

days long since past, since another table (p. 71) shows that the percentage of anything approaching family membership and participation in the church activities never mounts beyond 19 per cent and falls generally to 6 per cent and even 2 per cent. The fact is often brought out that the spine of the churches' strength consists in a relatively small number of church members, the majority being women, who are both contributors to its finances and workers in its organization—the "Old Guard," so to speak.

Other observations which seem worthy of mention are, that the percentage of new members who come in by "profession of faith" rather than by letter is recruited largely, even in these churches, from the appeal of the church services rather than the subsidiary activities of the church (p. 145), and is amazingly small when we consider, as in the case of a church in Detroit, that 22,021 persons were attendant on its subsidiary activities, which are of course the main features of its program of adaptation to the changing city. Is it fair to infer that thousands approve of the church's weekday gospel of community helpfulness while but a score or so approve of its Sunday gospel of theological beliefs? So long as the congregation is one constituency and the parish-house attendants form an almost entirely different constituency which is religiously unassimilated and financially irresponsible, can the claim properly be made that such a church has successfully adapted itself to its neighborhood?

The book is well and interestingly written. It is to be regretted that more eastern churches could not have been included. If they some time should find publication it might be well to guard against overloading the pages and confusing the readers by too many statistics. The irrelevant or superfluous percentages and statistical tables in the present book are somewhat bewildering. At least one-third of the "figgerin" in the book is of minimum value to anyone, especially to readers with a practical aim. But the reviewer would have liked more pictures and a more searching analysis of the sources of the contributions by which these enormously expensive churches are supported. Suspicion, based on some experience, is that in any case the adaptative ability of the church proceeds from, and depends on the astuteness and vision of, a few large contributors, usually on the trustee board, who are giving their church the experience gained from making similar adjustments to the changing city in their business.

CHARLES H. LYTTLE

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement. Vol. III. By G. D. H. COLE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. 237. \$2.50.

This third volume, covering the period since 1900 and thus completing Mr. Cole's series, has many of the same merits and shortcomings as its predecessors. If a historian is to be judged by how well he spins a narrative and how satisfactorily he explains it, there is much to be said for Mr. Cole's method. The

narrative, extending from the founding of the Fabian Society to the aftermath of the general strike, is straightforward and unpretentious to the point of dignity. It holds its course between the conventional dulness and the more recently conventional smartness. It has also somewhat greater unity than was to be found in the first two volumes; but this may be due less to the author's efforts than to the character of the later period, whose story can be told so largely in terms of the Labor party and events in a few basic industries.

As an interpreter of his narrative Mr. Cole is somewhat less satisfying. Perhaps both his strength and his weakness in this respect proceed from the fact that he lacks an explicit theory of history. On the one hand he escapes thereby the paraphernalia of learning without which a more formal mind could not have moved. There is an absence of theoretic dogmatism to a degree which enables him to explain working-class history now in terms of a complex of forces, as in the chapter on "The Great Unrest," and now in terms of the decisive impetus given by a single event such as the Taff Vale decision. On the other hand this lack of dogmatism becomes at times merely an indolent stringing-together of disconnected incidents, without any serious indication that the narrator understands their relations or their significance.

The preface indicates that Mr. Cole would seek to be excused on the ground that "it is extraordinarily hard, at this nearness to the events described, to make sense of a period at once so eventful and so discontinuous as the quarter of a century covered by this volume." But this conscripting of historical perspective into a plea in extenuation has been too frequent a practice to be used by a writer who has as much right to be daring in his analysis as the author. In fact, wherever he does attempt analysis the narrative becomes considerably enriched. Especially is the last chapter, on "the condition of the workers in the first quarter of the twentieth century," a vigorous piece of writing. After enumerating in a convincing fashion the respects in which the quarter-century has effected an improvement in the workers' conditions, Mr. Cole sounds the inevitable "and yet." "If there is a 'but,'" he continues, "is it not largely because the working class is now judged by far more exacting standards than ever before? It has staked out a claim to be no longer a subject class, but to take the lead in ruling the world." A world, Mr. Cole adds, in which the general economic future of Great Britain is precarious.

On such a note of mingled triumph and somberness it is fitting that a history of the British working class should for the moment end. Whether it will ever have a permanent ending—whether, that is, historians will always have some working class to write the history of—is a question which Mr. Cole, following the well-worn practice of historians, does not seek to answer. Others who deal more directly in political and economic speculation about the future may have more temerity.

MAX LERNER

NEW YORK CITY

Pioneer Women. Second Series: Hannah More, Mary Carpenter, Octavia Hill, Agnes Jones. By MARGARET E. TABOR. London: Sheldon Press, 1927. New York and Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. 123. 2s. 6d.

This is the second series of brief studies of women who did pioneer work in the field of social and educational work. In the first volume, the subjects were Elizabeth Fry, Elizabeth Blackwell, Florence Nightingale, and Mary Slessor of Calabar. In this second volume, the subjects are Hannah More (1745-1833), the author and wit and friend of literary men and women, and organizer of ragged schools, where she taught the "lower classes" so as to train them up in habits of industry and piety"; Mary Carpenter (1807-77), who taught school as her father had done, organized a "ragged" school, a reformatory school, and two experimental industrial schools to demonstrate her belief in the practicability of dealing with neglected boys and girls in institutions of that character, made four visits to India to assist in a movement for the education of women and the better treatment of prisoners, and visited the United States, advising in the administration of institutions for women and girls; Octavia Hill (1838-1912), poor law guardian, administrator of housing properties, and charity organizationist; and Agnes Jones (1832-68), the pupil of Florence Nightingale, who re-organized and redeemed the Workhouse Infirmary at Liverpool. The sketches are brief but interesting introductions of noble and able women, whose contribution to nineteenth century England and to social reform should be widely known and recognized.

S. P. B.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Handbook on the Welfare of the Blind in England and Wales (Great Britain Ministry of Health, Advisory Committee on the Welfare of the Blind). London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927. Pp. iii+34. 6d.

In this very small publication is found a wealth of information needed by those interested in the care and treatment of blind persons. The *Handbook* discusses the statutory definitions: the blind are those who, from the point of view of education, "cannot read the ordinary school books used by children," or from the point of view of work, are unable to perform work for which eyesight is essential; and reviews the statistical information, indicating that there were on March 31, 1927, 46,822 persons registered in the different jurisdictions required to keep registers. There is also an account of the development of service for the blind from the establishment of the Hospice des Quinze-Vingts in Paris in 1260 to the present time; and a description of the schemes now in operation under the general supervision of the two national authorities, the Board of Education and the Ministry of Health. In addition, there are suggestions as to the necessary and desirable classification of the blind with information concerning the treatment of persons in each class. The main classes are (1) children under five, who may secure treatment at home or in proper institutions, and nursery-school advantages, under Maternity and Child Welfare authorities, Local Education authorities, Boards of Guardians, and some voluntary or private agencies; (2) children between five and sixteen, who have been under compulsory education provisions since 1893, and for whose education the central authority makes grants to the authority under whose immediate care the child receives his education; (3) the trainable blind, for whom provision is made under an act of 1921 by the Local Education authorities assisted again by grants from the Board of Education; (4) the employable blind, for whom workshops or opportunities for home work have been and are in process of development under local authorities with grants from the Ministry of Health; (5) the unemployed blind; and, finally, (6) the unemployable, of whom in 1927 there were 31,667, or 67.6 per cent of the total number. It is to this group that attention is especially directed on the theory that "*even more important than means of livelihood is a life worth living*" (p. 13). Attention is called especially to (1) the use of the home teacher, whose duties are carefully outlined, (2) hostels for blind workers, and (3) homes for the aged and infirm.

As has been suggested, in this service there is co-operation between (1) the two central authorities, the Board of Education and the Ministry of Health; (2)

the local authorities, that is the county councils in 62 jurisdictions, the country borough council in 83 jurisdictions, and the Common Council of the City of London; and (3) a great number and variety of private organizations of which a list is given.

Attention is called, of course, to the importance of prevention and to the methods in use for the care of infants; for the care of school children's sight; and for the treatment under certain circumstances of persons suffering from accident or other injury to the eye.

To the American student the most interesting feature of the work is its national character, making possible local registration, with the use of national funds and with the benefit of advice and suggestion from the central authority.

The Health of the School Child (Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for the Year 1926). London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927. Pp. 186. 1s. 6d.

The annual report of Sir George Newman comes always as a breath of fresh air. It brings the healing sense of light and true relationships and understanding of the nation's needs. To him the childhood and youth of the country are its wealth and its future. The conservation of children's health is therefore to him the essence of caution and of thrift, while neglect of their physical and mental development seems to him only ignorant and reckless waste. The best way to indicate the scope of the report is by the following quotation:

Let me, before entering upon the detail of my task, attempt briefly to answer two general questions which in one form or another have often been addressed to me. What is the real purpose or idea of school medical inspection? and what is the exact number of children affected by it? The answer to the first question is that "school medical inspection" is, and always has been, an inadequate descriptive term for the statutory medical services in the schools. From 1907 the Board have made it perfectly clear that in the administration of the Education Acts, Local Education Authorities were to be invited to take a wide and comprehensive view of their duties. And indeed it cannot be otherwise, for their purpose is to *prepare the child for education and for citizenship*. Merely to provide for the medical inspection of children or even the treatment of those found to be suffering from one or more physical defects would be to overlook the fact that the school medical service is fundamentally physiological in conception and preventive in purpose, one of the most far-reaching social reforms. In the interest of convenience and brevity, it may be said that the school medical service is designed:

1. To fit the child to receive the education provided for it by the State. But this must also mean to adapt educational methods to the natural physiological capacity and powers of the child. This involves a study and understanding of the sphere and compass of a child's physiology.
2. To detect any departures from the normal physiological health and growth, any impairments, aberrations, defects, or disease (physical or mental), and advise the remedy or amelioration of them (at the school or otherwise) lest worse befall.
3. To seek the causes and conditions (external and internal to the body of the child) of such defect and disease, and, as far as may be, *prevent* them.

4. To teach and practise personal hygiene in every school, so that a habit of hygiene may be contracted by the children, and the way of physiological life may be followed by each coming generation.

The whole design is an opening of the gates of physical opportunity. Medical inspection is merely an arrangement to explore and unveil the condition of each child in order that the rest of the programme may be fulfilled with a correct regard to the facts of the case.

The answer to the second question is that every child in attendance at a public elementary school is medically examined at least three times in the course of school life; and that in addition to this the opportunity is freely given to parents, teachers, and others at any time to obtain medical service for children under their care (pp. 6-7).

. . . . It cannot be too clearly understood that health is not an artificial accomplishment, quickly acquired and easily maintained. It is a development of body and mind; a growth, slow in process; a habit, broad-based upon heredity and nurture; a balance of moderation in all things; a harmony of a sound mind in a sound body, good nutrition combined with steady nervous regulation. *It is out of such health that creative capacity comes.* On the whole, the best children physically are the best children mentally; and a sound educational system is not dependent in childhood on improved methods of education only but on a body nature, on better feeding, on nervous control and regulation, on a steady growth of bone, muscle and brain (pp. 14-15).

As in his other reports Sir George Newman deals not only with the services rendered all children in school but he treats also of the different groups of children for whom the school in England is so especially concerned: (1) the pre-school child, and there it means the child under five, for the compulsory attendance age in England begins at five, not at seven or eight as in our states; (2) the debilitated child; (3) the crippled child; (4) the child selected for school-feeding. He recommends the extension of the nursery school system; he thinks that school feeding has very important educational values besides contributing to the child's proper nutrition; he urges an increase in play facilities as a method both of physical and educational development, and he lays great stress on the teaching of hygiene. The facts given with reference to the value of school meals in the mining districts during the strike and to the prosecutions of parents by local authorities in the case of neglected or truant children are especially interesting. He recommends fuller clinical study as the scientific basis for a developing program and pleads for the extension of the open-air room for the normal child, as well as for the sick child, in order that the children may benefit from the light and air of whose therapeutic value they learn in the classroom.

Committee on Legal Aid for the Poor, Final Report (Great Britain Cmd. 3016). London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1928. Pp. 19. 4d.

This is the second and final report of a committee appointed April 7, 1925, to inquire what facilities existed for giving to poor persons "advice with respect to their legal rights and liabilities and aid in the conduct of legal proceedings, whether civil or criminal (other than such civil proceedings in the Supreme Court

as fall within the scope of the existing Poor Persons Rules) and to report what, if any, further steps should be taken in respect of these matters."

In the earlier report (Cmd. 2638) the Committee dealt with aid in criminal cases, summarized an act of 1903 dealing with Poor Prisoners Defence and the rules that had been made under that act, and found the situation on the whole not unsatisfactory. They recommended, however, (1) an amendment to the statute; (2) a few changes in the rules with reference to barristers' and solicitors' fees; (3) the giving of increased power to justices to certify for legal aid before them in indictable cases where the charge is especially grave or where in the judgment of the presiding magistrate, because of exceptional circumstances, it is necessary in the interests of justice.

The second and final report is devoted to the question of advice and aid generally in civil cases and because of the limitations in the references, the report is devoted to litigation in the county courts.

The Committee deals first with the subject of legal advice and finds facilities available in London and in a number of the provincial centers. A list of legal aid societies or "poor man's lawyers" is given, showing that such organizations exist in Sheffield, Birmingham, Leicester, Manchester, Halifax, Liverpool, Chesterfield, Bristol, Leeds, and Brighton, and 54 centers in London, of which 27 are general centers, 8 run in conjunction with the Conservative party, 6 with the Liberal party, and 13 with the Labour party.

The Committee concluded that advice only is necessary in the great majority of cases and makes a strong appeal to members of both branches of the profession, solicitors and barristers, to strengthen these voluntary societies. It was urged before the Committee that a state subsidy should be recommended. The Committee thought, however, that this would not be desired by the legal aid organizations in view of the inspection and reporting that would be required by the Central Authority. In one class of actions in which there was a technical question, namely actions brought in the High Court and remitted to the county court for trial when the plaintiff lost certain advantages given by the "Poor Persons Rules" the Committee recommended the remission of fees; otherwise the Committee thought that

It is most desirable that legal advice should be provided for the poor, and the most earnest appeal should be made to members of both branches of the legal profession to strengthen and develop them in all centres where they do not exist. The problem of advice is the main problem to be solved. With regard to legal proceedings, we do not think that poverty prevents the litigation of any appreciable number of claims of real merit and we believe that, with the increase of Poor Man's Lawyers, such difficulties as now exist would tend to disappear. We are not prepared, except in the matter of the remitted actions, to recommend that any changes in the law and practice at present prevailing are necessary or desirable (p. 11).

It should be said that two members of the Committee, Miss Dorothy Jewson and Mr. Rhys J. Davies, submitted a minority report recommending the provision of legal advice by the Local Authority, saying

Local Authorities, either singly or in co-operation, should be empowered to employ a qualified person to give legal advice. As in the case of the Medical Officer of Health the salary should be paid out of local revenue, and a grant-in-aid should be contributed by the Exchequer. The State would, of course, lay down the terms and conditions governing the appointment and duties of public legal advisers.

The duties of the legal advisers should be confined to giving information and advice, and they should not be permitted to conduct in court cases on which they have advised (p. 12).

Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions, Held at Atlanta, Georgia, September 27-29, 1927 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 456). Washington, D.C., 1928. Pp. vi+257+xxvii. Paper, \$0.40.

This is one of the annual reports issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics which is of interest to those concerned with problems of industrial accidents, accident statistics, and workmen's compensation legislation and procedure.

At its last meeting the Association welcomed a representative from the new Missouri Workmen's Compensation Commission, who gave an account of the unique experience of Missouri in getting a compensation law. Four laws passed the Missouri legislature at different times in the last two decades, but all were subject to a referendum, and three times the law was defeated by popular vote.

The subjects discussed at the various sessions included, among others, problems of the relation of physicians to compensation commissions, legal aid in compensation cases, and accident reporting. The report of the committee on Statistics is brief and deals largely with the plan to develop an American table of remarriage experience under compensation laws.

Fifteenth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, 1927 (U.S. Department of Labor). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927. Pp. vii+211. \$0.20.

Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1927 (U.S. Department of Labor). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927. Pp. vii+236. \$0.25.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Naturalization, 1927 (U.S. Department of Labor). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927. Pp. 43. \$0.10.

Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1927 (Dominion of Canada). Ottawa, 1928. Pp. 83. \$0.15.

The report of the Secretary of Labor deals with the various administrative units of the department, the office of the Secretary, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Bureau of Immigration, the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Naturalization, and the Women's Bureau. The services directly under the supervision

of the Secretary, including the Conciliation Bureau, the U.S. Employment Service, and the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation are also reported on. The appropriations by Congress to the department and its services totaled nearly \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year, of which more than \$6,000,000 went to the immigration service. In Part I of the report are presented reports from the different Bureau chiefs, and in Part II the Secretary's "Comments and Recommendations" are given. These include subjects concerning a wide range of interest, such as the bituminous coal situation, the Negro in industry, and the bringing together of families separated by the quota acts.

The important report of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration has become fashionably attenuated. Although apparently a substantial document of 236 pages, the report occupies only 26 of these and the statistical appendixes account for the remaining 210. However important the latter may be, the vast majority of people interested in immigration are too busy to hunt out for themselves the significant items in the two hundred odd pages in which they are buried. In the 26 pages written by the Commissioner General he surveys what he calls "the myriad activities and accomplishments of the immigration field and bureau forces." Here, as he says, is

a governmental agency dealing with human beings—aliens arriving, aliens departing, and aliens in our midst; aliens who want to come but do not know how to go about it, aliens who want to leave but are fearful of the possible consequences, aliens who, because of the fact that they were permitted to enter but temporarily, should leave, but do not want to do so. Merged with these are American citizens, near American citizens, alleged American citizens, persons of no nationality or dual nationality. The travel of American citizens in and out of our country and across our borders must be facilitated. Our officers must distinguish between them (naturalized or native-born) and aliens, with the least possible delay. The flow of humanity across our land borders alone aggregates in round numbers approximately 100,000 daily, or 36,500,000 entrants annually. In the matter of aliens, in particular, there are no two cases alike in all of their circumstances.

Yet all this work is disposed of within the brief compass of little more than a score of pages. The important reports of the inspectors and commissioners in charge of the various immigration stations are no longer published, and the report does not even show how many such stations are in operation.

The report begins with the usual praise of the visa act of 1924. In the Commissioner's opinion it is "admirably conceived representing as it does the fruit of many years' study upon the part of the lawmakers and experience of administrators."

The outstanding feature of the year's work according to the Commissioner was "ridding the country of over 26,000 aliens unlawfully here, despite an acute shortage of funds with which to carry on."

It is not easy to understand what the Commissioner General means by this figure nor where he gets it. And those who have a preference for having the statistics in the body of a report agree with those in the statistical appendix are likely to be annoyed to find that the tables dealing with "aliens deported from

the United States after landing" show (pp. 232-33) only 11,662 deportees in stead of "over 26,000 aliens unlawfully here." Later in the report the missing 14,000 deportees are explained. The Commissioner presents a table (p. 11) which shows 12,055 aliens against whom there were "warrant proceedings instituted" and an additional 14,619 who were, he thinks "subject to deportation but who paid their own passage home or went back to Canada or Mexico" without any warrant proceedings having been instituted. Even here the figure does not agree with the 11,662 deportees found in the statistical appendix. The reason for the discrepancy apparently is that the Commissioner's table includes 393 persons who departed across the land borders without warrant of deportation having been issued. The grand total of 26,674 aliens departed included therefore only 11,662 who had been found to be legally deportable. Although the Commissioner thinks the remaining 15,012 were unlawfully in the country, this status had not been legally established.

Attention should be called to the fact that there is much that is interesting in the report of the Secretary of Labor which supplements the report of the Commissioner General; in particular there is an account of the work of the board of review, which is of first-rate importance. This board, which is a post-war creation, reviewed and wrote decisions in 32,790 cases last year involving 59,882 aliens. The Commissioner General would be rendering a public service if he could arrange for the publication of summaries of these decisions.

The report of the Commissioner of Naturalization follows traditional lines but contains an unusually long list (pp. 8-20) of comments and recommendations.

The report of the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization contains further material of value to the student of immigration. Canadian immigration policy differs from our own since immigration of certain classes is not only welcomed but vigorously recruited. Advertising and general propaganda are carried on under official auspices particularly in Great Britain and the United States. There are now seventeen Information Bureaux in the United States, and the Department reports "an increase of interest" (p. 52) in the United States as indicated by inquiries made of those in charge of the immigration offices. A brief quotation dealing with this work may be interesting:

It is not possible to undertake any widespread effort in the northern States of Europe owing largely to the desire of the Governments of these States to retain their own people. The statistics, however, show that Canada continues to attract a valuable movement of desirable people from such States. . . . It is undoubtedly true that a very large percentage of the present movement of immigrants to Canada is of such racial origin or of such pioneer type as to offer comparatively little difficulty in absorption and assimilation.

One of the notable features of the year is the interest displayed on the part of European countries in the opportunities presented by Canada for their people. During the year several delegations, composed mostly of Government representatives, have visited Canada inquiring into agricultural conditions. From opinions expressed by these delegates on coming into contact with officers of the department, it is apparent that greater interest in and appreciation of Canada, as a field for settlement, is being created throughout continental Europe as a result of these visits (p. 6).

There are interesting accounts of the Empire Settlement Scheme and the work of the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women; and there is also a report from the Supervisor of Juvenile Immigration. Here again Canadian policy differs radically from our own since we do not permit the immigration of children unless they are coming to join parents. Last year Canada received 1,741 juvenile immigrants.

With as little delay as possible after reaching Canada the boys and girls are placed under agreements with employers who have previously furnished satisfactory credentials in respect to their suitability as employers of this class of help. The agreements are drawn up in legal form and cover one year's service subject to renewal and an increased wage for the juvenile commensurate with previous year's progress and efficiency. The wages are collected by the organization under whose care and responsibility the child came to Canada, and deposited in a bank in trust, until the child reaches his or her 18th year or for a longer period as may be agreed (p. 65)

Care of the Aged in Chicago. By ELIZABETH A. HUGHES and ELSIE WOLCOTT HAYDEN. Bureau of Surveys, Department of Public Welfare, Chicago, Illinois, 1927. Pp. 132.

This report embodies two sections of a detailed study of the care of the aged in Chicago. These sections deal with the methods of caring for the superannuated worker which have been developed by industry and by trade unions. The others sections of the study will deal with (1) the care of public employees through pensions; (2) private homes for the aged; (3) non-institutional care provided by organized charity; (4) public outdoor relief to the aged; and (5) public provision for care at Oak Forest.

The report indicates the significant features of the industrial pension systems to be (1) the requirement of many years of continuous service, and (2) the discretionary and non-contributory features which render their benefits uncertain. However, it is estimated that about 3 per cent of the men and women sixty-five years or over in Chicago (193,197) are receiving industrial pensions. In spite of their limitations, these pensions give an added sense of security in old age to a group of workers and constitute a valuable demonstration of the benefits of the allowance plan as a substitute for institutional care.

The second section of this report is concerned with the old-age pension systems and institutional provisions for aged union members. The funds come from the union members entirely. It is probable that the greater proportion of the 561 pensioners living in Chicago would have been dependent, inasmuch as the unions generally restrict the granting of pensions to those unable to continue to be self-supporting through their own earnings. A negligible number of aged Chicago residents were being cared for in union "homes."

Since the care of the aged is the responsibility not alone of industry and of organized labor, the subsequent sections of this study will be of great interest and value, as they will treat of the attack of still other groups on this problem as found in Chicago.

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